

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications
and other research outputs

Maybe It's Because I'm A Londoner?: A Policy Journey Through The Abolition Of The Inner London Education Authority And The Introduction Of Local Management Of Schools In Inner London

Thesis

How to cite:

Reynolds, Kate (1999). Maybe It's Because I'm A Londoner?: A Policy Journey Through The Abolition Of The Inner London Education Authority And The Introduction Of Local Management Of Schools In Inner London. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 1999 The Author

Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:
<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.000049aa>

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk

UNRESTRICTED

**MAYBE IT'S BECAUSE I'M A LONDONER? A POLICY JOURNEY THROUGH
THE ABOLITION OF THE INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY AND
THE INTRODUCTION OF LOCAL MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS IN INNER
LONDON**

by

Kate Reynolds, M7048287, BA (Hons) Sociology, MA Sociology and Law

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy, School of Education

Open University

December 1998

AUTHOR'S NO: M7048287

DATE OF SUBMISSION: 31 DECEMBER 1998

DATE OF SUBORD: 4 AUGUST 1999

Open University

Abstract

**Maybe it's because I'm a Londoner? A policy journey through the abolition
of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of Local
Management of Schools in inner London**

by Kate Reynolds M7048287

The measures contained in the 1988 Education Reform Act have transformed the educational landscape of state schooling. This thesis examines two policies contained in the Reform Act, that of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools in inner London from a perspective founded in anti-racist, feminist and social justice approaches.

Using case study as a research tool, the thesis builds on an analysis of data collected from a variety of sources. In particular, the thesis uses data collected from interviews with a sample of local government officers, governors, and headteachers in the inner London boroughs, statistical evidence and content analysis of policy documents. The analysis places these two policies within the wider context of the restructuring of the welfare state and the changes in the relationships between national and local government.

In particular, it argues that the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority represented the clearest example of the Conservative Government's philosophy to local government, education

and schools. Drawing on the analysis from the interviews and documentary evidence, it examines the rationale behind the abolition of ILEA and the introduction of local management in inner London schools. It argues that both the abolition and the introduction of local management of schools were critical to the introduction and implementation of a market in education. Furthermore, it examines the impact of local management on the management of schools with a particular emphasis on issues of gender and 'race' and discusses some of the implications local management has had for developing strategies to address inequalities in education. As a postscript, the thesis identifies some of the key elements of local management that are likely to continue under the new Labour Government.

Table of Contents

1.	Introduction: the rotting remains	1
1.1.	<i>Structuring the world: the shape and form of this thesis</i>	<i>5</i>
1.2.	<i>Literature Review: Putting the context into educational policy research</i>	<i>6</i>
1.3.	<i>Methodological Issues in Education Policy Research.....</i>	<i>7</i>
1.4.	<i>Restructuring the Welfare State - the Case of the Abolition of the Inner London Education Authority.....</i>	<i>8</i>
1.5.	<i>London Calling – the Case of Local Management of Schools in Inner London Schools</i>	<i>9</i>
1.6.	<i>Schools Out – Management under Local Management.....</i>	<i>10</i>
1.7.	<i>Conclusion – fusion or more confusion</i>	<i>10</i>
1.8.	<i>Postscript.....</i>	<i>11</i>
2.	Literature Review: Putting the context into educational policy research	12
2.1.	<i>Introduction</i>	<i>12</i>
2.2.	<i>Putting policy into a context – the case of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority.....</i>	<i>15</i>
2.3.	<i>The beginning of the end?.....</i>	<i>21</i>
2.4.	<i>Weaving the Web - the net begins to tighten?</i>	<i>29</i>
2.5.	<i>Why the ILEA? Issues of class, 'race', and gender</i>	<i>32</i>
2.6.	<i>Who is policy - what is she?.....</i>	<i>38</i>
2.7.	<i>Does policy have an effect?.....</i>	<i>46</i>
2.8.	<i>Developing a model for understanding education policy.....</i>	<i>62</i>
2.9.	<i>Conclusion: drawing together the strands</i>	<i>72</i>

3. Methodological Issues in Education Policy Research – researching the real?	74
3.1. Introduction	74
3.2. Putting the 'real' into 'reality': notions of objectivity, validity and reliability – contradictions and quandaries?	75
3.3. Situated knowledge and situating knowledge	79
3.4. Researching ILEA – as a feminist?	82
3.5. Researching Policy: Choosing an approach – the case of the case study	86
3.6. Researching Policy: Choosing a method	90
3.6.1. Examining the documents – investigating 'privileged knowledge' and quantitative and qualitative methods	93
3.6.2. Who's researching who – situated knowledge and the use of qualitative methods	99
3.7. Examining privileged knowledge from the view of the situated – the analytical approach within the case study.	108
3.8. Conclusion	109
 4. Restructuring the Welfare State - the Case of the Abolition of the Inner London Education Authority	 112
4.1. Introduction	112
4.2. Obstacles in changing the inner London education system – managerialism and the public sector	114
4.3. It was all political! – Views on the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority	117
4.4. ILEA as a waste of resources	122
4.5. The ILEA 'person' - a different educational philosophy	130
4.6. The role of 'equal opportunities' and ILEA	133
4.7. ILEA – the end of an era?	136
4.8. The new inner London authorities	138
4.9. Conclusion	148

5. London Calling – the Case of Local Management of Schools in Inner London.	151
5.1. <i>Introduction</i>	151
5.2. <i>Creating the framework - the policy of educational markets</i>	154
5.3. <i>LMS and the Creation of a Market in Education</i>	158
5.4. <i>LMS, and Age Weighted Pupil Units</i>	163
5.5. <i>Formulae in Inner London</i>	167
5.6. <i>The construction of the Age Weighted Pupil Unit</i>	176
5.7. <i>LMS tensions, contradictions and quandaries</i>	181
5.8. <i>A new era for local education authorities? 'I believe the local authority is a planner, a monitor, its not a deliverer'</i>	184
5.9. <i>Questions of choice and diversity</i>	192
5.10. <i>Competition and choice: questions of power</i>	196
5.11. <i>Conclusion</i>	200
 6. Schools Out – Management under Local Management	 201
6.1. <i>Introduction</i>	201
6.2. <i>New forms of management in schools</i>	202
6.3. <i>Who are the teachers? Who are the managers?</i>	207
6.4. <i>The headteacher as manager – if they can't manage a tin pot budget</i>	212
6.5. <i>She who pays the piper? The case of school secretaries</i>	223
6.6. <i>Who wants to be a millionaire? The case of school governors</i>	225
6.7. <i>Conclusion</i>	232

7.	Conclusion – fusion or more confusion.....	233
7.1.	<i>Introduction</i>	<i>233</i>
7.2.	<i>Fused or confused? Returning to the beginning</i>	<i>234</i>
7.3.	<i>A multiplicity of methods – seeking to understand differences and similarities</i>	<i>236</i>
7.4.	<i>Placing the local in the context of the national</i>	<i>237</i>
7.5.	<i>Managers and the market.....</i>	<i>239</i>
7.6.	<i>Summing up – trying to seek a resolution</i>	<i>241</i>
	 Postscript: New Labour and Education, Education, Education.....	 242
 8.	 Bibliography	 248
8.1.	<i>Publications and papers</i>	<i>248</i>
8.2.	<i>Legislation, Circulars and other central Government documents</i>	<i>270</i>
8.3.	<i>Other Documents.....</i>	<i>272</i>
8.4.	<i>Inner London Education Authority and London Boroughs Documents.....</i>	<i>274</i>
8.5.	<i>Newspapers/Magazines</i>	<i>279</i>
	 Appendix 1.....	 i
8.6.	<i>Summary Analysis of LMS in inner London boroughs – financial year 1994/95 – sample of boroughs supplying information</i>	<i>j</i>

Appendix 2.....	ix
8.7. LMS Interviews – prompt sheet local government officers.....	ix
8.8. LMS Interviews – prompt sheet Headteachers, School Administrative Staff and Governors.....	x
Appendix 3.....	xiii
8.9. List of interviewees	xiii
Appendix 4.....	xvi
8.10. Categories for initial analysis	xvi
Appendix 5.....	xvii
8.11. Analysis sheets for LMS Schemes	xvii
Appendix 6.....	xix
8.12. Analysis Sheet for Education Development Plans	xix

List of Figures

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
Diagram 1.....	62
Diagram 2.....	63
Diagram 3.....	64
Diagram 4.....	65
Diagram 5.....	66
Diagram 6.....	166
Table 1.....	173
Table 2.....	175
Chart 1.....	178
Table 3.....	204
Table 4.....	228
Table 5 - London Borough of Camden.....	i
Table 6 - London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham.....	ii
Table 7 - London Borough of Islington.....	iii
Table 8 - Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea.....	iv
Table 9 - London Borough of Lambeth.....	v
Table 10 - London Borough of Lewisham.....	vi
Table 11- London Borough of Tower Hamlets.....	vii
Table 12 - City of Westminster.....	viii
Table 13.....	xiii
Table 14.....	xiv
Table 15.....	xiv
Table 16.....	xv

Maybe it's because I'm a Londoner? By Kate Reynolds

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Dr Kevin Brehony and Dr John Ahier who believed I could do it and R who made me do it. I should also like to thank all those who gave their time when they really had better things to do.

For SBH.

1. Introduction: the rotting remains

Careers and reputations are made as our research flourishes upon the rotting remains of the Keynesian Welfare State. Both those inside the policy discourse and those whose professional identities are established through the antagonism towards the discourse benefit from the uncertainties and tragedies of reform. Critical researchers, apparently safely ensconced in the moral high ground, nonetheless make a livelihood trading in the artefacts of misery and broken dreams of practitioners. None of us remains untainted by the incentives and disciplines of the new moral economy. (Ball, 1997a, p.258)

This thesis represents a personal and political journey. It was started in October 1990, seven months after the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and is being completed just after the election of the first Labour Government in eighteen years. It represents a personal journey in the sense that the world of education in the mid-eighties still seems a world of security and familiarity. For those of us who worked within it, the ILEA (particularly following the political attacks that were aimed at it) felt like home. It was the same ILEA that had given its commitment to anti-racist and anti-sexist policies. It was the same ILEA that expanded adult education to the level of worldwide respect. It was the same ILEA that consistently raised the importance of education for all those living in the inner cities.

The thesis also represents a political journey in the sense that the changes in local government which was so much a landmark of the Conservative government, have shaped the careers and life

chances of those of us committed to public service in general and local government in particular. The political effects of those changes have been to place local education authorities in a distinctly different position to the one that existed before the mid-eighties.

The educational world of the mid eighties has changed remarkably ten years on. Certain assumptions about schools, education, the role and functions of local education authorities have been swept away and remain, for many of us, only a distant memory of the way things used to be.

This journey recognises the problems of doing research when, at one and the same time, the researcher is intimately involved with implementing policies. This has represented particular difficulties for me since to quote Codd's critical assessment of traditional approaches to policy (1988):

Discrete functions are assigned to the policy researcher (who is a disinterested provider of information), the policy-maker (who produces the policy), and the policy recipient (who interprets or implements the policy). The document itself is regarded as a vehicle of communication between these agents. (Codd, 1988, p.237)

However, I was not, nor would I ever claim to approach policy from a 'disinterested' standpoint. Throughout the time of doing this research I was involved in the policies under research in a way that would not be the case if I were a full-time academic researcher who are based outside the

framework of local government and local education authorities. For the past eight years, I have been employed as a local government officer in education authorities in inner and outer London. In one of these posts I was directly responsible for the design, development and implementation of local management of schools¹ in a post-ILEA borough. In my current post, I am again responsible for the whole gamut of local management including formula funding, governors support and the development of a delegated management support service to schools.

This has specific and particular implications for my role as a researcher. I was not 'an outsider' looking in to examine the effect of a policy from the position of being 'safely ensconced in a moral high ground' (Ball, 1997a, p. 258). I was in Codd's words, 'the policy researcher, the policy maker and the policy recipient' (Codd, 1988, p. 242). I was part of the process, part of the mechanism, which produced the policy documents, which shaped and framed the authority's approach to LMS; I was, in a sense, part of the problem.

This particular position had both its advantages and disadvantages. Advantages in the sense that I had easy access to documentation and materials which I otherwise would have had difficulties in obtaining. Disadvantages in that the research itself influenced and impinged upon my professional attitudes and approaches to policy development and that the ever changing world of education

¹ In May 1998, the Department for Education and Employment issued the proposals, which will form the framework for the replacement of local management of schools from April 1999. These proposed changes are not within the remit of this research, however, some of the issues raised by the new regime of Fair Funding for schools are dealt with as a postscript chapter following the final conclusion of the dissertation.

policy made it difficult to keep the research focused and non-changing. This was, in no mean part, due to the continuing pace of change being implemented by local education authorities.

The new Labour Government, elected on 1 May 1997, has itself implemented a fierce pace of change, focusing on a new regime which stressed raising standards and a new role for local education authorities. In July 1997, the Government issued a White Paper: Excellence in Schools giving details of its policy for changing the teaching and learning and the role of schools. The political assumptions behind a framework which emphasises 'standards not structures', 'zero tolerance of underperformance' and 'working in partnership' (Department for Education and Employment, 1997) has heralded a new round of changes for the education system and for the structuring of schools, headteachers, governors and local education authorities.

The White Paper took for granted the framework and structure of local management of schools. It is seen as an overriding success:

'...we recognise the benefits which Local Management of Schools (LMS) has brought. Schools have thrived on the opportunities offered by delegation of budgets and managerial responsibilities. They should be able to decide, wherever possible, what services they want to buy, and from whom they wish to buy them.' (Department for Education and Employment, 1997, p.70)

Whilst accepting the 'success' of local management of schools, the White Paper made no reference to the inner London context or the issue of directly elected education committees such as the Inner

London Education Authority. Although there are plans to establish a strategic authority for London, there are no current plans for a cross-London body responsible for education. Nor is this likely given the significant changes brought about by local management of schools.

1.1. Structuring the world: the shape and form of this thesis

I have adopted a specific approach within the thesis to the way the sections are constructed and the area each of the sections covers. In particular, I have sought to impose order on the analysis and research material whilst still wishing to retain some of the complexities, interrelationships and nuances of the way that policy interacts with and is a part of the daily lives of those interviewed.

As part of that approach, the sections that deal with the analysis of the research, (sections 4, 5 and 6) start by contextualising the analysis within the wider framework of debates and arguments within specific literature. The analysis is intended to both complement wider debates and discussions and to critically evaluate their appropriateness in understanding the specific issues involved in the *abolition of ILEA and the introduction of LMS to the inner London boroughs*. In this way, the focus of the analysis becomes embedded in wider debates and arguments about the context and nature of educational reform.

The section then moves on to examine the issues raised by the analysis and to place these within the wider context of the literature and to highlight the contradictions raised by the research as well

as the similarities and dissimilarities between different inner London boroughs and different groups of interviewees.

1.2. Literature Review: Putting the context into educational policy research

The main aim behind the literature review is to place my research in the context of wider issues of policy research, the sociology of education and social policy. In particular, it is concerned with placing the focus of the research, the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools in inner London, within a wider context of the changing relationships between national and local government and the changing relationships between the national and the local state.

The literature review raises the issue of the specificity of the inner London context whilst highlighting the implications of the inner London situation for wider shifts between Whitehall, the Town Hall and County Hall. It draws on anti-racist, feminist and social justice perspectives to argue that a key element in the context of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority was its approach to 'equal opportunities'.

Using these elements as a framework, the literature review then examines the issue of policy research in education. It raises some of the complexities of developing models of policy which allow a level of generalisability whilst at the same time recognising the unique and individual nature of the inner London context. It argues that policy and policy research has its own in-built

assumptions and that 'policy' constitutes a particular literary genre. Moreover, it argues that policy and policy research needs to take into account the political and social dynamics of the creation and implementation of policy with an understanding of the role of people within the policy process.

Finally the section draws attention to the 'messiness' of policy research and policy implementation and argues that without an understanding of the contradictions and complexities of the nature of policy, educational research will not do justice to policy and policy research.

1.3. Methodological Issues in Education Policy Research

The focus of this section is to explain the epistemological framework within which the research was undertaken and the methodological consequences of such a framework. The section has as its starting point an examination of the positivist notion of objectivity and the question of the 'real' as providing the basis for research. It then contrasts positivist notions of the 'real' with post-modern, feminist and anti-racist approaches which emphasise the role of power structures in society as giving and creating space for knowledge. Drawing on these approaches it develops the notion of privileged and situated knowledge to highlight the different status accorded by society to different forms of knowledge.

The section also seeks to explore the questions surrounding the role of research and the role of researcher, particularly in terms of critiques developed by feminists, anti-racists and those working within a social justice framework. It explains the case study approach adopted as the basis for this

research and the methodology and methods of analysis applied to the specific sources of data for the research and how these methods sought to answer the research questions at the core of this research.

1.4. Restructuring the Welfare State - the Case of the Abolition of the Inner London Education Authority

This section examines a number of different issues. Firstly, it seeks to contextualise the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority within the wider framework of changes within and outside of the welfare state in the mid 1980s. It argues that any examination of the circumstances surrounding the abolition of the ILEA must take into account, both the general restructuring of the welfare state that was an explicit part of the political landscape of the time, and the specific nature of inner London both in terms of its political base and in terms of issues of gender, 'race' and class and the role it had in shaping both political and educational practice.

The section then draws extensively on the analysis from interviews with headteachers, local government officers and governors in the inner London area conducted between 1990 and 1995. It examines their conceptions and explanations for the abolition of ILEA and develops an understanding of the role of ILEA in providing an alternative 'family' and educational philosophy to that given by the contemporary Conservative Government.

The section then focuses on the key issue of 'equal opportunities' and explores the development of approaches to equalities issues in the boroughs who took over responsibility for education following the abolition. It argues that the approach taken in each of the boroughs was rooted in the political control of the borough and the philosophical and political approaches to equalities.

1.5. London Calling – the Case of Local Management of Schools in Inner London Schools

The replacement of the Inner London Education Authority with the twelve London boroughs and the City of London came at one and the same time as the introduction of new ways of allocating resources to schools through local management of schools (LMS). This section begins with an analysis of local management in inner London by focusing on the financial element of LMS, that of formula funding.

The section seeks to place formula funding within the wider context of the creation of a market in education. It highlights the role of formula funding as **the** mechanism for bringing about an educational market through the allocation of resources to schools on the basis of pupil numbers. Using analyses of inner London education authorities' LMS schemes and the levels of expenditure on schools as expressed through Section 42 and Section 122 statements, it examines the issues surrounding the funding of schools. Drawing on analyses from the interviewees, it also highlights the specific impact of formula funding on inner London boroughs and their schools and examine the potential impact of local management on the relationships between the inner London local education authorities and their schools.

1.6. Schools Out – Management under Local Management

This section focuses on the other element of local management of schools that of devolved management. It examines the issues surrounding the devolution of financial and personnel responsibilities to schools generally and to school governing bodies in particular in the context of the inner London education authorities.

It examines the changes in roles and responsibilities for headteachers, school administrative staff and governors and argues that there are similarities and dissimilarities with the concerns raised by each group. Moreover, it argues that all groups saw the introduction of local management as having, sometimes contradictory, positive and negative aspects.

In addition it examines issues of gender, 'race' and class and argues that the concept of 'management' within education and schools and the practice of 'management' is predicated upon particular gendered and 'raced' assumptions about who are managers. It is argued that this myth of 'neutrality' has an impact on notions of accountability in education, particularly in terms of the role of governing bodies.

1.7. Conclusion – fusion or more confusion

The concluding section pulls together the elements from previous sections. It aims to tie together the issues of policy research in relation to the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools in the inner London boroughs. In particular, it

examines whether the model for policy analysis developed in the literature review has provided an appropriate and accurate mechanism for understanding the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools.

1.8. Postscript

The world of education policy is changing rapidly following the election of the Labour Government in May 1997. This section deals in brief with some of the key policy changes which the new Government has planned. It argues that rather than building a different educational consensus, the Labour Government have continued to build on the main elements of the 1988 Education Reform Act (Department for Education and Science, 1988a) and particularly, local management of schools.

2. Literature Review: Putting the context into educational policy research

The nature of the central-local relationship post ERA seems to have received relatively little attention...and perhaps the clearest indication of the lack of interest in this area is the absence of work on what is in many ways the most remarkable feature of education reforms, the abolition of ILEA. (Dale, 1994, p.38)

2.1. Introduction

Dale's (1994) concern about the lack of research into the relationships between central and local government and education generally and in particular the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority provides the central focus of this thesis and the rationale for the choice of it as an area for research. That is, this thesis is primarily concerned with developing an understanding of the abolition of ILEA and the implications this has had for the development of London's education system and using this to reflect on the development of the changing relationships between central and local government from the mid 1980s. In order to do this, the research focuses on two interwoven yet separate policy measures emanating from the Education Reform Act: that of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) and the implementation of Local Management of Schools (LMS) in inner London. It is an examination both of the reasons for the abolition of ILEA and the way abolition shaped the structures of education in inner London and an examination of the way in which an educational 'market' was created through the mechanism of local management of schools.

Moreover, it presents an argument that the existence of the Inner London Education Authority the particular political position that the Authority adopted, represented a site of possible resistance against, and a possible alternative to, the Conservative reforms of education and the welfare state. In addition, it highlights the conflicting and contradictory impact of the implementation of the national policy of local management of schools within the local context of inner London after ILEA and examines different responses to that national policy at the level of headteachers, governors and policy officers.

The similarities between the abolition of ILEA and introduction of local management of schools are clear. Both were key elements of the Education Reform Act 1988, both were concerned with changing the relationships between central and local government over the control of education, both were key elements of the 'marketisation of education' (cf. Bridges and Husbands (eds.), 1996). For the education system in London, and specifically for the structure and system of schooling in inner London,² it would be difficult to understand a policy such as the introduction and implementation of local management of schools without an understanding of the context of the abolition of ILEA (Dale, 1994). Although the rationale behind these policies and the effects of these policies could be examined separately, for the purposes of this research, both policies are seen to be part and parcel of the restructuring of the welfare state that was central to the political project of the New Right Conservative Governments of the mid 1980s to early 1990s(cf. Bash and Coulby (eds.), 1989, Dale, 1989, Jones, 1989).

² I am using education to refer to the whole education service including adult and community education, nursery and further education, whereas for this thesis schooling applies only to primary, secondary and special education in schools.

*The 1988 Act, however, is a significant departure in the sense that a combination of measures – open enrolment, opting out, even national assessment – unequivocally emphasised individual consumer choice and the market, **at the expense of the LEA's ability to plan and have a role as an arbiter of social justice.*** (Heller, with Edwards, 1992, p.65, my emphasis)

Therefore any account of the changes resulting from the Education Reform Act 1988 must take into consideration the role of local government and the relationship between central and local government. In the case of inner London, then, the changes cannot be understood without reference to the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority. Moreover, it is my contention that the restructuring of the schooling system in England³ on the basis of a market model and the differential and sometimes contradictory implications that has had for the development of local government and local education authorities also cannot be fully understood.

This section therefore seeks to examine the literature, which was influential in the development of the thesis and which places the research within a wider context. In particular, it will examine the discussions and debates surrounding the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority as representing the contextual basis for the research. It will argue that, in many ways, the abolition of ILEA was inevitable given the redrawing of the lines of responsibility between central and local government and, given specifically, ILEA's commitment to the development of anti-racist and anti-sexist policies in education. The section will then draw on the contrasting positions in researching the implementation of policy as exemplified by Power's (1992) structural account and Ball's work

³ This thesis only focuses on the changes in terms of the English schooling system and in line with Ball's (1997b) argument does not seek to generalise to the Welsh or Scottish systems.

(1997a and 1997b) which argues for a more post-structural, diffuse approach to policy in order to build a model for researching education policy that can do take into account the specific local and national framework that provides the basis for this research and that allows for an analysis which takes into account those involved in implementing change as well as the change itself.

The research, then, aims to work through the difficulties in acknowledging the role of the structural in policy implementation whilst at the same time, seeking to take into account the specific local and national dynamics of education. It aims to understand both the forces involved in shaping policy and the framework which shapes and defines policy. It aims to put forward a model of policy which can understand the contrasting effects of policy implementation whilst putting such contrasts within the context of wider structural issues of social justice.

2.2. Putting policy into a context – the case of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority.

But it is unhappily true that, if one judges from much academic writing, LEAs appear hardly to exist, or if they do they are no more than an inconsequential background factor. (Hargreaves and Reynolds, 1989, p.216)

Both Hargreaves and Reynolds (1989) and Dale (1994) highlight the lack of research that places education (and particularly schooling) within the context of a local education authority. Although there now appears to be some attempt to insert the 'local' into education research and research on

schools, this seems to be a reaction to the threats to local government itself rather than an inherent interest in the area (cf. Ball, Vincent and Radnor, 1997). However, it is the contention of this thesis that schools have been a part of a national system locally implemented since the 1944 Education Act and for inner London this has been the situation since the election of the London School Board in 1870. Therefore, the reforms of late 1980s and early 1990s in state education generally and state schooling in particular, cannot be understood without reference to the local context that is local education authorities. Moreover, it is also my contention that the reforms of that period cannot be fully understood without an understanding of one specific local education authority, that of the Inner London Education Authority.

The history and the circumstances leading up to the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority are critical for understanding the wider changes in state schooling, since they contain within them aspects of the key issues which shaped the particular ideology of the Conservative Government and found their expression in the form of the 1988 Education Act. It is also critical given the specific historical development of education in the capital.

Since the days of the London School Board, a body elected by ratepayers, the capital city's educational aspirations have always extended beyond the limits of legislation into providing advanced educational opportunities not only for its children and young adults but also for the adult population in general. (Fisher, 1988, p.58)

From the first elections for inner London's education system following the Elementary Education Act 1869, London's education has stood out for its difference and innovation (Maclure, 1990). These first elections were in themselves unique, the first direct elections to a body, the London School Board, responsible for running London's schools. The first elections to such a body which allowed women to stand and, in the absence of any other unit of local government in the city, the first elections to a municipal council system for London (Maclure, 1990). The uniqueness of London's education continued so that by the time of its abolition on 1 April 1990, the Inner London Education Authority had acquired an international reputation for its innovative and ground breaking work and its commitment to inner London and inner city education (Barber, (ed.), 1992).

What was also unique about the ILEA was its sheer size. The predecessor of the inner London Education Authority, the London School Board began in 1870 covering an of 114 square miles with a potential school population of 3 to 13 year olds of just over 574,000 children⁴. By its abolition, ILEA covered the thirteen inner London boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Islington, Camden, Westminster, Wandsworth, Hammersmith and Fulham, Southwark, Lambeth, Greenwich, City of London, Kensington and Chelsea and Lewisham. It ended its reign commanding a revenue expenditure of over £1022m in total. Expenditure on primary and secondary education totalled £518m in order to cater for over 260,000 pupils (including those under 5) speaking 172 languages in its 49 nursery, 754 primary and 139 secondary schools and employing over 46,000 staff. Thus making it one of the largest education authorities in the country⁵. (Inner London Education Authority, 1989).

⁴ For the historical details of the development of education in inner London cf. Maclure, 1990

⁵ As was pointed out during the debate on ILEA's abolition, Strathclyde was a larger authority than ILEA.

The plans to reorganise inner London's education system was part of the agenda of the Conservative government of the late 1980s. Local government represented a site of resistance where communities could be organised against the elected government at Westminster⁶. Given the demographic statistics of the area covered by the ILEA and the traditional Labour lead in the polls on education issues, it was always likely that any elected education authority covering inner London would have an in-built Labour majority.

So long as inner London was organized as a single unit for education, the expectation had to be that Labour would normally control any elected education authority. Though there were important arguments about the best size of an administrative area for particular services, the main points at issue were political.
(Maclure, 1990, p.230)

The 1983 Thatcher Government had as part of its manifesto a commitment to change the face of local government by abolishing metropolitan authorities including the Greater London Council (GLC). As it was then constituted, abolition of the Greater London Council would have meant the end of the Inner London Education Authority since the Authority existed as a committee of the Council in much the same way as local education authorities across the country. As a result of a mass campaign of popular support and a cross bench amendment in the House of Lords, the Inner

⁶ The most obvious example of local government providing a site for political resistance to Thatcherite policies at the time was the case of Liverpool City Council and its refusal to operate central governments financial regime. However, Liverpool was not on its own - a large number of inner city councils took a political stance against the policies and legislation of the Conservative Government (cf. Cooper, 1985, Gyford, 1985).

London Education Authority became a directly elected education authority in 1986, the only one in the country (Maclure, 1990).

This issue of the 'accountability' between local education authorities and local government in general and the electorate was key in the arguments put forward by the Conservative Government. The ideology of the Conservatives shifted notions of accountability which rested on local democratic systems to one where the market was seen as the most direct and representative and in many ways equitable system of accountability (Epstein, 1993).

In terms specifically of local education authorities, Ball, Vincent and Radnor (1997) argue that 'accountability' can be defined in two main ideal types, 'market accountability' or 'political accountability' (p. 148). These different models both assume the traditional structure of local education authorities as committees of the council, and those councils as being given their powers by statute. It is important to recognise the difference in terms of ILEA as against other local education authorities, that it was unique in terms of 'political accountability'. In the first direct elections since the London School Board, an overwhelming Labour majority⁷, emphasised an alternative accountability and an alternative education service to that of the central Conservative Government. The consistent support from Londoners and from parents in particular for a Labour controlled authority to run inner London's education thus represented a particular threat to a Conservative government intent on introducing a right-wing agenda into the national system of

⁷ Following the 1986 elections, the political composition of ILEA was as follows: 45 Labour, 11 Conservative and 2 Alliance.

education. ILEA represented at the very least an obstacle and at the most a site of resistance against the plans contained within the then Education Reform Bill.

....some urban local authorities, the GLC and ILEA in particular, pursued social and economic policies which, at least symbolically, challenged Margaret Thatcher's claim that 'there is no alternative' to her vision of reform. (Ball 1997b. p.3)

Although the Inner London Education Authority gained a reprieve under the 1986 Act which abolished the Greater London Council, the direct election of the ILEA contained within it its own seeds of destruction. For a government committed to seeing 'parental power' as a force for the raising of standards in education and the introduction of an educational marketplace based on consumer choice (cf. David, 1993, Whitty, Edwards and Gewirtz, 1993, Vincent, 1996), the establishment of a local education authority with an inherent Labour majority and one currently committed to progressive educational policies and practices represented the 'enemy within' (or in this case the enemy 'across the water'). The obvious contradiction to the Conservative agenda of 'choice and diversity' could not be continued if parents and the local electorate supported an alternative educational agenda, that is that parents did not represent the conservative consumer group as portrayed by the Government (Vincent, 1996).

Moreover, the political management of the ILEA also played a role in its own downfall. By opposing the 'opting out' clause in the 1988 Bill⁸ and arguing that abolition was better than a slow steady

⁸ This clause gave boroughs the opportunity to withdraw from the Inner London Education Authority on a individual or collective basis.

drain of power, the Inner London Education Authority opened the way for its own abolition in 1990 (Lawton, 1992).

... the ILEA launched itself on an ill-judged gamble. It argued that the opt-out clause for London's boroughs, a sop to Conservative Westminster and Wandsworth, could fatally weaken it, and advanced the extraordinary and reckless argument that unless the ILEA survived as a whole it would be better abolished. (Brighouse, 1992, p.61)

2.3. The beginning of the end?

The election of the first Thatcher government in 1979 marked the crystallisation of the massive shift in the role and function of the welfare state that had begun under the previous Labour government and a recasting of the relationships between national and local government. Behind this policy of restructuring was a political ideology which had its roots in right-wing individualism and the pursuit of free market (Apple, 1989, Bash and Coulby, (eds.) 1989, Jones, 1989, Atkinson, 1990, Flude and Hammer, (eds.) 1990, Ham and Hill, 1990, Arnot and Barton, 1992, Macgregor, 1992, Cochrane, 1993, Dale, 1994, Cooper, 1995, to name but a few). Along with legislation to introduce forms of the 'market' into the health service, to reduce spending on welfare benefits, to decrease taxation and to introduce elements of consumer 'choice' into the public sector (cf. Clarke and Newman, 1997), one of the key areas for implementing the restructuring was the realm of the education system. The political and ideological impetus for these changes originated in a systematic critique of 'welfare statism' and 'collectivism' which had been seen to shape central government approaches to welfare in previous decades and had as part of its rationale a view of professionals as representing obstacles to the proper workings of the market (Williams, 1989). Welfare statism

was seen as being responsible for creating at best an uncompetitive economy and at worst a nation of welfare dependants who were lazy, workshy and poor.

The main points of these critiques are that the welfare state inhibits individual freedom, it is inefficient and wasteful and is morally disruptive...Individual freedom is limited through the imposed burden of taxation necessary to fund state welfare...which inhibit private enterprise....state welfare services are wasteful and inefficient since they are faced with no competition and are not controlled by any cost-effective principles.... Finally, the welfare state is seen as morally disruptive by sapping people's initiative and self-reliance and inducing them into states of dependency on provision. (Williams, 1989, p. 26)

In addition to the effects on the economy and the creation of an 'underclass' addicted to state benefits, the welfare state (and more particularly) the elements of the welfare state that were delivered through the system of local government, were seen by central Government as ineffective and inefficient. In essence, there was behind a lot of central government rhetoric an implicit (and sometimes explicit) opinion that the professionals of local government were in league with such an underclass in order to exploit the wealth creating classes. In effect:

...it is suggested that there is an unholy alliance between the (state) professional classes, local (Labour) politicians and the poor to encourage high levels of spending which fail to deliver appropriate services or to assist those intended to benefit from support. (Cochrane, 1993, pp.50-51)

Thus, the Conservative Government explicitly aimed to change the structure and the nature of the welfare state. This 'restructuring' (Deem and Brehony, 1990) was articulated around three central themes. Firstly, the increasing centralisation of the power of the state; secondly, the introduction of the 'market' into all areas of welfare; and lastly, a specific weakening of the powers of local authorities. These themes have provided the political rationale for much of the restructuring of the welfare state and have been conceptualised and articulated through rhetoric of 'freedom', 'choice' and the rights of the individual.

The abolition of ILEA cannot be seen in isolation from this broader context of the political and ideological restructuring of the welfare state that was an explicit part of central government's policy from the early 1980s. The ideological framework, which shaped the changes in social policy of the 1980s, included education as a prime site of change and local government as a key focus for legislation. Hence the abolition of ILEA, being as it was an education authority and a 'local government' for inner London, represented a prime site for the articulation of the new right ideological shift in social policy. Moreover, the ILEA fell into the category of an authority controlled by what came to be called the 'new urban left' (Gyford 1985) which was therefore, in the firing line from policies which aimed to limit the power of local government. Both the 1986 Education (No. 2) Act and the 1986 Local Government Act built on the political framework which saw Labour controlled education authorities as preventing the operation of the market and in addition, introducing policies on equal opportunities which gave ammunition to a media keen to cast them as

'loony left'.⁹ Moreover, the Labour controlled ILEA was itself seen as part of wider rise in the 'new urban left' and the 'socialist' controlled councils.

What was important in the identification of ILEA as part of the rise of 'municipal socialism' was the implication that any criticism by central government of ILEA could be generalised to apply to other Labour controlled councils and vice versa. As will be seen in later parts of this section, this has particular implications for the way ILEA's approach to 'equal opportunities' was portrayed as well as the way future local government and education policies were shaped.

The importance of the 'new urban left' as a thorn in the flesh of the Thatcher Government is therefore central to understanding the issues surrounding the abolition of ILEA. It is the counterpositioning of these 'left-wing' Labour councils against a 'right-wing' Conservative Government, which highlights their role in the politics of the 1980s and early 1990s. In particular:

Three main features united the local socialist councils. First, their leaders wanted to present an effective alternative to the policies of the Conservative government. They wanted to show in practice that there was an alternative which worked. Where the Thatcher government and the 'new right' stressed the role of the market, the left authorities stressed the value of state intervention - of collective rather than individual solutions. Secondly, they wanted to present an alternative to the experience of Labour in power in the 1970s.... Thirdly, they

⁹ For a detailed examination of the role of the media in supporting and building the attack on progressive local authorities cf. Cooper, 1985

were committed to a path which valued local initiative in its own right, as an alternative model to centralization and the market, offering new opportunities for democratic control. (Cochrane, 1993, p.43)

Within the realm of education and schooling, the specific legislative measures contained within the 1988 Education Reform Act need to be located within these wider social policy changes in order to understand the socio-political framework which has defined and structured massive changes to the state schooling sector. Education is not an 'island' remote from other changes in social policy (Finch, 1984a) but is framed by and through changes in social, economic and political structures at a wider macro level. Moreover, the concepts and ideologies used to explain and advance and articulate the restructuring have had specific implications for the way schooling and state education has been conceptualised and theorised in the 1990s. Apple (1989) writing at the beginning of the 1990s highlighted the importance of these changes in the welfare state and stresses the importance of education as a key site for the focus of such changes¹⁰:

We are in the midst of widespread, rightist-inspired, economic and ideological changes in which forms of domination and subordination are being built and re-built. Education has become one of the arenas in which this is occurring.
(Apple. in Dale, 1989, p. 2).

The 1988 Education Reform Act provides a specific example of the articulation of this form of right-wing thinking on education and highlights one of the key aspects of changes in the welfare state,

¹⁰ Section 2 deals in more detail with the social construction of knowledge and ways of viewing the world.

that of the centralisation of power of the state at the level of national government. The Act contained within it measures which increased the power of the Secretary of State for a range of educational issues, most notably the curriculum through the establishment of quasi- autonomous non governmental organisations or 'QUANGOs' in the form of such bodies as the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority¹¹. This process of creating such bodies as the Further Education Funding Council, the Funding Agency for Schools, the Qualifications and Curriculum Council to name but three, has further eroded the role of local education authorities (Ball, Vincent and Radnor, 1997). In terms of education, the introduction of the National Curriculum represented a marked shift in control over what is taught in schools and had particular implications for anti-racist and anti-sexist teaching (Arnot, 1990, Silcock, 1997). The 'autonomy' of classroom teachers to decide the form and content of what they teach and the power of local education authorities to develop specific educational initiatives is undermined by the control of education by the National Curriculum. Power was vested through the National Curriculum Council into the hands of the Department for Education and Science and ultimately the Secretary of State for Education (Wallace, 1990).

One of the other key measures contained in the Act was the option for schools to 'opt out' of local authority control and to be directly funded by the Department for Education and Employment. The option of 'opting out' for education establishments does not, in this sense, assure them of more freedom from intervention; rather it substitutes central control for local control. The local education authority starts to be replaced by a central government department and a range of 'arms length' quangos (Flude and Hammer, 1990, Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe, 1995).

¹¹ The National Curriculum Council was replaced by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority. Following the election of a Labour Government in May 1997, the Authority has been renamed the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority and has widened its remit to include further education and vocational qualifications.

In conjunction with this increase in the powers of central government, social policy initiatives have sought to introduce 'market mechanisms' into many areas of the welfare state.¹² In terms of state education, local management of schools, open enrolment, City Technology Colleges funded by local industry, as well as the testing and assessment that accompanies the National Curriculum can all be seen as measures that attempt to introduce the competition of the market into schooling.

The main thrust of the critique of local government, which influenced the Thatcher Government, was one which stressed the strength of market alternatives and the inherent weaknesses of bureaucratic (public sector) organisation. (Cochrane, 1993, p.49)

The weakening of local authority power is the third theme which has been central to the 'reform' of the welfare state in general and of schooling and education in particular. The earlier 1986 Education (No. 2) Act established the transfer of some powers from local education authorities by moving responsibilities for ensuring appropriate sex education and political indoctrination to governing bodies in schools. This was coupled with notions of parental choice by an increase in the numbers and powers of parent governors as constituents of school governing bodies. By 1992 (two years after the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority), the White Paper 'Choice and Diversity', central government continued to emphasise the key notions of parental choice and the need to remove power from local education authorities, as the Daily Express so boldly expressed it:

¹² These have included national initiatives such as the privatisation of nationalised industries through to initiatives at local government level such as compulsory competitive tendering. A further development of this aspect of introducing the market and private sector management techniques has been the establishment of quasi-autonomous non governmental organisations (Quangos) which are seen to operate at 'arm's length' from the public sector thus ensuring 'independence and efficiency'

The Government yesterday heralded a return to old-style morality in our schools as it wrested their control from left-wing town halls...the once powerful grip of left-wing town halls on children's schools so that it withers away to almost nothing. (Daily Express, editorial, 29th July 1992)

These legislative reforms represent an attack on local government through the casting of parent as the educational consumer in the educational marketplace.

In other words, the aim of the central government, in this educational policy, was to move the locus of decision making away from the state, but most especially local government, and back to individual parents, or the private family. (David, 1993, p. 64)

The 1988 Education Reform Act furthered this move to place governing bodies rather than local education authorities in control of schools. One key aspect of the Act, local management of schools (LMS) gave school governing bodies control over the schools financial and personnel resources and effectively replaced the local education authority with governors acting on a collective basis in making strategic decisions about the school. Schools have become individual units rather than part of a wider collective of schools under the auspices of the LEA putting governors who act in a voluntary capacity to act as both 'consumers' of education and part of the administration of education (Deem and Brehony, 1993). The effect of this transfer of power under LMS from LEAs to school governing bodies in terms of 'equal opportunity policies' is covered in more detail in Sections 5 and 6.

2.4. Weaving the Web - the net begins to tighten?

The diminution of the powers of the LEAs was part of the rationale for the attack on the Inner London Education Authority that led to its abolition in April 1990. The abolition of the ILEA is part of this restructuring of the education system along 'market' lines in a very real sense. The ILEA represented a particular 'thorn in the flesh' for a Conservative government committed to challenging post-war education consensus and aiming to create in education, as in other areas of the welfare state, a new anti-collectivist hegemony. This anti-collectivist hegemony seeks to challenge not only the structures of the welfare state but also the ideologies that support it. This is particularly the case in education, where 'equal opportunities' language has been used by the right to justify reactionary educational policies. In essence, the importance of the use of language and the role of the media are key parts in understanding the circumstances that led up to the final nail in the coffin of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority since:

The circle of dominant ideas does accumulate the symbolic power to map or classify the world for others, to set limits on what appears rational and reasonable, indeed on what appears sayable and thinkable. This occurs not through imposition, but through creatively working on existing themes, desires and fears, and reworking them. (Apple, in Dale, 1989, p. 9).

The media played a key role in giving credence to a number of difference arguments advanced for ILEA's abolition. These arguments were used throughout the 1980s to provide a justification for attacks on local government in general and 'left-wing' Labour councils in particular. Specific Labour

metropolitan authorities were cast as profligate councils spending vast amounts of money on 'politically correct' strategies such as equal opportunities despite the evidence of the increasing disparity between rich and poor as a result of the economic crises. Indeed,

Just at the time when the centre wanted to reduce spending, local authorities were faced with growing pressures to increase them. (Cochrane, 1993, p.39)

The attack on local government and on Labour authorities in particular was engineered around a rhetorical framework stressing the way resources were 'wasted'. 'Waste' in this context often referred to resources spent on 'equal opportunities' policies and practices and the large bureaucratic structures of local government. The argument was presented that the breaking up of large bureaucracies such as the Greater London Council (GLC) and the Inner London Education Authority was both an important plank for local democracy and cost-efficient resulting in savings which could be better spent by reducing the level of local taxes. These two elements, local democracy and cost-effectiveness were clearly articulated by the London Boroughs Association¹³ in its analysis of the financial effects of the abolition of the GLC.

The report clearly shows that the savings produced by abolishing the GLC are undeniable.... The majority party of the LBA is concerned that a new Greater London Authority would result in duplication, inefficiency, and conflict, and would diminish the role of the London boroughs. As this report shows, the re-creation of a Greater London Authority could also have substantial cost implications.

(London Boroughs Association, 1991, p. 7)

The casting of the Inner London Education Authority as a profligate spender whose administration was overly bureaucratic and a drain on the capital's resources followed the same rationale advanced for the abolishing of the GLC and the other metropolitan authorities. The aspect of this 'perceived' waste of resources became key to the arguments advanced for ILEA's abolition. However, it is difficult to separate whether any decrease in resources was gained as a result of the abolition and the reduction of bureaucracy or whether cuts to local government expenditure in central government grant are the cause. It is also important to bear in mind the specific issues for education in the inner city where children's needs and requirements may be very different to their rural counterparts or those from the middle class suburbs¹⁴. Many of central government's reforms rest on assumptions about children, parents and families which do not represent the reality of life in the inner city.

One of the declared aims in abolishing ILEA was to reduce the level of expenditure on education in inner London. That is one thing we can be absolutely sure has happened. While it is almost impossible to make accurate comparisons with pre-abolition figures, it is likely that there is a gap between ILEA budget levels carried forward from its last year and current borough expenditure on education of around £100m. However, the loss of a considerable proportion of that money has resulted in serious loss of educational opportunity for London's hard pressed residents. My guess is that most boroughs have cut discretionary awards, that the fabric of buildings is worsening

¹³ There were two associations representing the London boroughs at the time. The London Boroughs Association which was Conservative controlled and the Association of London Authorities which was Labour controlled.

and that there simply aren't the teachers of the quality required to ensure access to the curriculum for the large numbers of London's children who lack language skills and are physically and emotionally deprived. (Fullick, 1991a, p. 423)

2.5. Why the ILEA? Issues of class, 'race', and gender

Within this context of the ILEA representing a political power base separate to and conflicting with the aims of central government, the Inner London Education Authority developed a particular approach to the realm of equal opportunities which was in open contradiction to the ideological model of equality and education advanced by the Thatcher governments.

Various writers have sought to systematise different approaches to equalities issues (for example, Segal, 1987, Troyna, 1990, Weiner, 1994, amongst others). These approaches tend to differentiate between liberal models of equal opportunities which seek to provide an access route for under-represented groups to obtain a place within the given power structure or status quo and those models which have their roots in a radical/progressive framework which seek to alter the system of power or change the status quo.

Liberal equal opportunities policies have been a hallmark of much of the work in state sector of schooling since the Second World War. These policies are often couched in notions of 'fairness'

¹⁴ Shaw, 1994, argues that the diversity of population and the extremes of wealth in inner city areas, particularly London, mean that comparisons with rural areas are inaccurate. Moreover, as the London Research Centre, (1996) showed there are still extremes of poverty and affluence in the capital but these are concentrated in particular boroughs, most notably Tower Hamlets (LRC, 1996).

and 'equality' and of seeking to ensure that there is a level educational playing field which will then allow everyone to achieve their own potential regardless of the barriers such as gender, 'race' or class. Liberal policies tend to assert that:

... individual women should be as free as men to determine their social, political and educational roles, and that any laws, traditions and activities that inhibit equal rights should be abolished. Access to education is fundamental to this perspective since it claims that by providing equal education to both sexes, an environment would be created in which individual women's (and men's) potential can be encouraged and developed. (Weiner, 1994, p. 54)

In contrast, radical notions of equality have as their theoretical roots an assumption about the existing structure of power both within and outside of the educational sphere. In these models, education often has a dual role both as part of the structures that reproduce and legitimate existing power structures and as a mechanism for empowering groups to change the status quo.

These two approaches in a sense highlight the conceptual clash between central government and the ILEA in terms of their ideological approaches to the role of education, schools and society. The implicit (and sometimes explicit) assumption behind the free market model which formed the theoretical backdrop to the policy initiatives of the 1980s and 1990s, is that introduction of market forces is itself a mechanism for the empowering of individuals. The dependency on the welfare state is seen to remove power from individuals by removing choices about their lives. Hence, key political and ideological phrases about 'parental choice' are in themselves both a rationale for and

justification of policy initiatives which seek to 'free' the individual from the shackles of a society dependent on welfare.

*Equality, no matter how limited or broadly conceived has become redefined. No longer is it seen as linked to past **group** oppression and disadvantage. It is simply now a case of guaranteeing **individual choice** under the conditions of a 'free market'. Thus, the current emphasis on 'excellence' (a word with multiple meanings and social uses) has shifted educational discourse so that underachievement is seen once again as increasingly the fault of the individual student. Student failure, which was at least partly interpreted as the fault of severely deficient educational policies and practices, is now being seen as the result of what might be called the biological and economic marketplace. (Apple, in Dale, 1989, p. 4)*

The control by the new urban left of large metropolitan authorities, represent both a head on contrast with the political ideology of central government and a site for organising resistance against that government. The Labour controlled Inner London Education Authority therefore represented both a political and a geographical (in terms of its site directly opposite the Houses of Parliament) alternative to the anti-collectivist policies of the Thatcher government.

The political management of the ILEA was doomed. It was not simply that at a time of political divergence it remained Labour; in the early 1980s it shifted to the political left at precisely the moment that an established Conservative government itself moved to the right. (Brighouse, 1992, p.61)

As a result of the rise of the 'new urban left' (Gyford, 1985) and the struggles of local community groups and political activists, the Inner London Education Authority developed a series of policy initiatives seeking to address issues of 'race' and 'sex' (and latterly sexuality) (Inner London Education Authority, 1983a, Inner London Education Authority, 1983b, Inner London Education Authority, 1984, Inner London Education Authority, 1985). In contrast with the position of central government, these policies were founded in a radical conception of inequality and the role of education as part of the mechanisms to tackle such inequality (Arends and Volman, 1992).

Seen in this light, the attack on the ILEA is of significance for the future of educational approaches seeking to encompass anti-racist and anti-sexist strategies and approaches (GLARE, 1988). The media attack on the ILEA sought to discredit radical 'equal opportunities' initiatives and thereby silence the creation of progressive educational approaches. Using the rhetoric of 'cost-efficiency' and building on this media coverage, the ILEA in general and specifically its anti-racist and anti-sexist policies were attacked on two fronts: firstly, that they were expensive and did not produce 'quality education' (as measured, of course, through examination results) and secondly, that they were educationally invalid, producing a student population without the skills necessary for the competitive Britain of the 1980s and 1990s. This attack found its voice in both the quality and tabloid press and provided a rationale not merely for an attack on the ILEA but on all LEAs pursuing policies addressing questions of class, gender and 'race' (Davies, Holland and Minhas, 1989)

By singling out the ILEA, the Government was able to discredit other attempts at 'equal opportunities' initiatives in other Local Education Authorities. The attack on the ILEA became the

'raison d'être' for similar attacks on educational philosophies and techniques committed to developing anti-racist and anti-sexist approaches.

Throughout the early 1980s the Inner London Education Authority had been spurred on by Black groups, women's groups, community groups and 'front-line' teachers, to develop a policy for education with a specific vision of 'equal opportunities'. In many ways, what was unique about ILEA's anti-racist and anti-sexist strategy was its focus on issues of class, gender and 'race' in education as part of the wider structures of inequality. In terms of gender, ILEA's policy was informed by many of the debates concerning anti-sexist education (Weiner and Arnot, 1987). Rather than see gender issues as an 'obstacle' to girls and young women's educational achievement, these anti-sexist approaches sought to uncover women's oppression and set in place mechanisms for change:

...feminists within pioneer authorities such as the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) began to encourage equality initiatives at the school level - through policy development, availability of resources and targeted funding. They also concentrated on developing greater coherence of strategy, emphasizing professional development and the need for whole school policy at the same time as addressing, simultaneously, different elements of underachievement and inequality. (Weiner, 1994, p.43)

Education was therefore seen as a means of challenging the power of the status quo, rather than seeking equality with it. The existence of sexism in the education system was seen as part of the

'raison d'être' for similar attacks on educational philosophies and techniques committed to developing anti-racist and anti-sexist approaches.

Throughout the early 1980s the Inner London Education Authority had been spurred on by Black groups, women's groups, community groups and 'front-line' teachers, to develop a policy for education with a specific vision of 'equal opportunities'. In many ways, what was unique about ILEA's anti-racist and anti-sexist strategy was its focus on issues of class, gender and 'race' in education as part of the wider structures of inequality. In terms of gender, ILEA's policy was informed by many of the debates concerning anti-sexist education (Weiner and Arnot, 1987). Rather than see gender issues as an 'obstacle' to girls and young women's educational achievement, these anti-sexist approaches sought to uncover women's oppression and set in place mechanisms for change:

...feminists within pioneer authorities such as the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) began to encourage equality initiatives at the school level - through policy development, availability of resources and targeted funding. They also concentrated on developing greater coherence of strategy, emphasizing professional development and the need for whole school policy at the same time as addressing, simultaneously, different elements of underachievement and inequality. (Weiner, 1994, p.43)

Education was therefore seen as a means of challenging the power of the status quo, rather than seeking equality with it. The existence of sexism in the education system was seen as part of the

wider structure of sexism of British society. 'Equal opportunities' for ILEA were not, therefore, defined around concepts of equal access but in terms of challenging the educational status quo and the more radical stance of equal outcomes. As the introduction to the ILEA' document: *Policy for Equality: Sex* states:

'It is based on the premise that girls and women are not "a problem", any more than black people are a problem. Rather, it identifies both institutional sexism and unconscious sexist attitudes as the twin barriers to genuine equal opportunities between the sexes. Despite the comparable, or even better, levels of academic achievement of girls at school pressures of bias and discrimination still ensure that the eventual outcome of their education is one that places them at a severe disadvantage compared with boys.' (Inner London Education Authority, 1985, p.3).

Schools were encouraged to adopt formal equal opportunities statements in line with political philosophy of anti-racism and anti-sexism (Maclure, 1990, p. 217) and resources were geared towards promoting 'equal opportunities' in its radical conception through in-service education, the appointment of specialist advisory teachers and a range of other initiatives (Olowe, (ed.) 1990, Barber, (ed.) 1992, Weiner, 1994)

The policy on 'race' put forward earlier by ILEA also sought to draw attention to the wider structure of society and the role of institutionalised racism. In contrast with approaches which concentrated on assimilation or cultural diversity models, the ILEA's anti-racist policy commits the authority to

developing frameworks and structures within all ILEA educational establishments based on a 'perspective emphasising primarily Equality' (Inner London Education Authority, 1983a). Education was seen as both supporting and reinforcing racism, whilst providing the opportunity for challenging its pervasiveness (Inner London Education Authority, 1983a, 1983b.).

It is this structural analysis of the role of education in maintaining and legitimating social inequality that underlay much of the Inner London Education Authority's 'equal opportunities' programme. Following the anti-racist and anti-sexist statements, policies concerning sexuality and special needs were beginning to be developed. Despite the lack of initiatives concerning class, ILEA's work represented an educational policy informed by a particular radical vision of the nature of British society and the role of schooling within that society. It is debatable to what extent these policies were put into practice, but it is important to recognise the role of these statements as an ideology framing the conceptualisation of the role of schooling. ILEA's policies represented a radical interpretation of the world - a world structured by class, 'race' and gender. It was this 'vision' that the Government sought to dismantle through ILEA's abolition (London 2000, 1990).

2.6. Who is policy - what is she?

The specific content of the two policies (the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools in inner London) which form the focus of this research are not easily recognisable as ones which sit easily within a feminist/anti-racist/social justice framework. These are not policies which explicitly make reference to gender, 'race' and class issues, nor are they ones which, at first glance, are obviously related to issues of inequality.

However, it is precisely the lack of an explicit focus on these issues that make the policies interesting in terms of social justice approaches¹⁵. In particular, the fact that these two policies have had specific implications for gender, 'race' and class and a unique effect on the education service in inner London provides the central rationale for research in these areas. Although not specifying gender, 'race' or class as key issues for these policies, the ideological framework within which these policies were developed and the structural framework into which the policies had an effect, were structured by and located within a set of concepts about state education and schooling, gender, 'race' and class and the nature of local government in inner London. These sets of assumptions structure both the form and the content of the policies and seek to engineer a particular effect. As Arnot (1993) argues:

It is my belief that the significance of the last two decades of policy-making cannot be fully understood without more questions being asked about the gendered assumptions which underpin these educational reforms. (Arnot, 1993, pp.187-188)

The definition of what constitutes 'policy' is central to any examination of educational reform and policy implementation. Whilst it is, in a sense, easy for policy researchers to highlight a particular document (such as a Department for Education and Employment circular, or a local education authority committee report) and point to this as 'policy', it is not clear such a narrow interpretation of policy can encompass a wider definition of policy which seeks to place it within wider structures of the state at both a national and at a local level.

¹⁵ For a discussion of social justice and its role as a framework in research as a development of anti-racist and feminist approaches see Griffiths and Troyna, 1995, Gewirtz, 1998)

The debate about what constitutes policy, what its effects are, the role of the state within policy making and the links between policy implementation and policy effects is an area which has engaged a large number of social researchers (Bash and Coulby (eds.), 1989, Savage and Robins, 1990, Silver 1990, Ball, 1994, Dale, 1994, Hatcher and Troyna, 1994, Bowe, Ball, with Gold, 1996, Bridges and Husbands, 1996). It is also central to the approach developed in this thesis which seeks to locate the development, implementation and effects of policy within the wider social and political arena. Making sense of policy, of what it is, what it does and what people judge its (both intended and unintended) effects to be, is of importance in any discussion which seeks to examine the political reforms of the mid 1980s.

Firstly, policy is important since it represents the public face of the political ideology of the central and local state. Whether or not policy has an effect (a question which I shall explore in more detail later), for those who make policy it is intended to mark a public statement of political action. Policy, however it is defined, involves the use of power both in terms of a structuring of the social world and a power to implement changes to that social world (Bowe, Ball, with Gold, 1996). Policy represents the written text of a political position, an 'operation statement of values' (Ball, 1990, p.3), an intention as well as the process for change. Policy is a response to a perceived crisis, a perceived problem, and a resolution of tensions and conflicts¹⁶:

¹⁶ Silver (1990) argues that policy is not necessarily a response to an large scale crisis in contrast with other writers who see the changes in education as a response to a crisis within capitalism itself (cf. Dale, 1989 and 1994). I would argue that 'crisis' for a national government can be defined on a smaller and a more local basis such as the perceived dangers of the small number of left-wing controlled Labour authorities in the mid 1980s. and that this may in a sense be a response to wider crises in capitalism

Logically, then, policies cannot be divorced from interests, from conflicts, from domination or from justice. (Ball, 1990a, p.3)

Secondly, in terms of the historical specificity which is part of the remit of this thesis, the mid 1980s and early 1990s can be marked out as an era of significant volume of publication of policy documents.¹⁷ Limiting the area to education policy between the years of 1988 and 1996, there have been at least one Education Act a year and a wealth of guidance produced in the form of DfEE circulars, guidance notes and letters to Chief Education Officers. This increase in legislation, particularly primary legislation, marks the era of the late 1980s as particularly pertinent in terms of policy initiatives, as Morris, 1993 points out:

*A chronological list of the Education Acts 1944-1992 is pear-shaped, with little and small scale legislative activity in the first three decades or more of the timespan...The compendious legislation since 1986, and particularly from the Act of 1988, **resulted from a decision by Ministers to make education a policy target.** (Morris, 1993, p.26, my emphasis)*

Acts of Parliament, Department for Education and Employment circulars and even guidance letters from the Department for Education and Employment, all represent policy documents in the form of

¹⁷ The plethora of policy initiatives under the Conservative Governments may well be superseded in terms of the numbers of policy initiatives of the Labour Government elected in May 1997. By December 1997, the government had published two education bills, and one green paper on special educational needs covering state schooling.

written text. Policy is then, more than the legislation – it is a whole range of documents which seek to explain and develop the policy¹⁸.

However, there are difficulties with the assumption that the written policy is the direct expression of the intention behind the policy¹⁹. Policies have their own language and jargon; they are written for specific audiences at specific times, they constitute a particular literary 'genre' (Atkinson and Coffey 1995, p.49)²⁰. Indeed, the existence of written policy texts does not mean that the meaning and intention behind these policies can simply be read off in a unilinear way (Bowe, Ball, with Gold, 1996).

The translation of educational policy into legislation produces a key text (the Act). This in turn, becomes a 'working document' for politicians, the unions, and the bodies charged for implementing the legislation. (Bowe, Ball, with Gold, 1996, p.277)

Codd (1988) makes this point by reference to the textual analyses of policy documents. Codd (1988) contrasts traditional approaches which seek to 'read off' policy effects from the policy document in a way which allows a clear and direct meaning to be generated from the text and a reading of policy which takes into account the negotiations, complexities and reality of the

¹⁸ It is also worth noting that policy is also shaped by the negotiations between paid officials in central government departments and their counterparts in local education authorities. Much of this is not documented and this is an area which is frequently omitted in policy research.

¹⁹ For such an approach see, for example, Halpin and Fitz, 1990

²⁰ The next section on methodological issues deals in more detail with the concept of policy as a 'genre'

development of policy. Codd (1988) provides a critique of traditional definitions of policy which he argues are inherently flawed. For Codd, policy has a wider definition and is constituted as:

(Policy here is taken to be) any course of action (or inaction) relating to the selection of goals, the definition of values or the allocation of resources.

Fundamentally, policy is an exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process. (Codd, 1988, p.235)

However, Codd (1988) does not argue that, as a result of these different meanings, policy has different and differential effects. In order to move from an argument that has a tendency towards theoretical and analytical relativism, Codd places the meaning of policy documents within the wider power structures of state. For Codd, the purpose of policy documents is part of the political mechanism used by the state to ensure a level of consent from the public. Policy, in this sense, part of the process of legitimising both the democratic structures of the state and the specific reforms which form the focus of the policy. The emphasis here is not the effect of policy but in the way in which policy in itself and through its language, shapes, legitimises and maintains the socio-political status quo:

Thus, policies produced by and for the state are obvious instances in which language serves a political purpose, constructing particular meanings and signs that work to mask social conflict and foster commitment to the notion of a universal public interest. In this way, policy documents produce real social effects through the production and maintenance of consent. (Codd, 1988, p.237)

Codd does not focus on the effects of policy but on the policy itself and the meanings behind or decoded in the policy. This argument therefore marginalises any discussion of the actual effects of policy and replaces it with an emphasis on a wider linguistic hegemony at the level of the socio-political.

Policy documents in this kind of analysis do not have a single authoritative meaning. They are not blueprints for political action, expressing a set of unequivocal intentions. They are ideological texts that have been constructed within a particular and historical context. (Codd, 1988,p.244)

Whilst accepting the need to recognise the ideological nature of policy as texts, other researchers have sought to examine the implementation of policy rather than its 'ideological intention' (for example, Bowe, Ball with Gold, 1992). For Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992, policy is renegotiated and redefined both at the level of the understanding of the policy text and in terms of the way that policy is implemented at a local or 'micro' level. In essence, their argument is that policy has an effect both in its language and the development of language within the arena of educational policy **and** in terms of both its intended and unintended effects. Without an analysis which deals with both these issues, there is a danger that either one will be over-emphasised without acknowledging the inter-relationships between language and effect, between effect and language. This is particularly pertinent in the area of educational policy where both effects and the development of new forms of language is crucial in understanding the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of Local Management of Schools.

Moreover, there is a need to take into account an analysis which both recognises the complexities of policy formation and implementation but acknowledges the power of key 'players' within that process. This is a point raised by Hatcher and Troyna (1994) in their critique of the approach adopted by Ball (1990) and Bowe, Ball, with Gold (1992). Hatcher and Troyna (1994) argue that the approach adopted by Ball and others plays down the power of the state and the effect of resistance to the state in the form of collective action. In particular, they draw attention to the creation of the market in education through the implementation of local management of schools and the role of macro politics as a site of resistance to specific policies:

Power is not absolutely fixed, that is true, but neither is it just the outcome of contestation. It is also present at its commencement. Struggles over policy take place on a terrain already structured by the power, and above all the power of the state. (Hatcher and Troyna, 1994, p.167)

The recognition of the prestructuring of sites of resistance, the predetermination of where (and in a sense how) policy can be contested and negotiated is critical to developing an understanding of policy from a feminist and anti-racist perspective since without an understanding of the power differential of different groups in society it is impossible to understand the way policy is constituted and the development of what can be referred to as a 'policy hegemony'.

In order to develop this argument about both the linguistic roles of policy and the way in which policy hegemony is established I want to start to examine the issues surrounding the efficacy of policy.

2.7. Does policy have an effect?

The question of the efficacy of policy needs to be understood at a number of different levels. Firstly, there are the explicit 'measures' which any policy seeks to introduce and implement; secondly, there is the effect of these changes on wider social and educational structures; and thirdly, there is the more subtle effect of changing the policy discourse, discussion or hegemony.

Following the reforms of the mid and late 1980s, there have been ongoing debates within research circles of both the intended effects of these policy measures and the likely outcomes of such policies²¹. In historical terms, and with the hindsight of nine years following the implementation of the Education Reform Act of 1988, it is perhaps easier to cast a doubtful eye over some of the more grandiose statements of the effects of reform made by researchers and politicians alike.

In terms of approaches based in anti-racist, feminist and social justice models, the debate has concentrated on different approaches to policy both in terms of what is defined as policy, and secondly in terms of the outcomes of such policies. In order to explore this issue further, I want to examine two contrasting approaches that of Power, (1992) and Ball, (1997a and 1998). I have chosen these two writers since they represent research and debate framed by social justice concerns, yet they take very different positions on the role of education policy and highlight some of

²¹ Just as Morris (1993) argues that the volume of education policy increased significantly since 1986 so have the number of researchers interested in this as an area. Some of the key researchers in this area have already been highlighted in this section but in particular the work of Ball, Troyna, Ham and Hill are critical to understanding the debates surrounding policy research.

the issues concerning the efficacy of policy and wider structural issues. In particular, Power's (op.cit.) approach operates through an examination of education policy as located at the macro level. Power (op. cit.) emphasises the role of structural inequality and power as the shaping mechanism for policy initiatives. In contrast, Ball's (op. cit.) account highlights and emphasises a more diffuse approach to policy implementation which whilst taking account of some elements of structure is more located at a local and micro level.

The approaches put forward by Power (op. cit.) and Ball (op. cit.) form the basis for the examination of the research findings in later chapters and provide the theoretical framework for understanding the abolition of the ILEA and the implementation of local management of schools in inner London.

Power's (op. cit.) central argument is that recent policy research has ignored both the role of structural inequality in shaping, and defining policy and in the effect of policy outcomes on wider structural inequalities. For example, Power is critical of social researchers (such as Ball) who have highlighted the role of policy in increasing inequalities whilst, in her critique, accepting the political rhetoric of defining the aim of policy as being of 'raising standards':

It is generally concluded that while the stated intentions of policy advocates are unlikely to be realized (sic) in terms of improving 'standards' and expanding 'choice', the policies will exacerbate and reinforce existing educational and social inequalities. (Power, op.cit, p.494)

Power (op. cit.) is particularly concerned that grand claims are being made for the policy initiatives of the late 1980s and that these claims are being contrasted with an earlier period of 'better quality' policy with its roots in educational research and analysis. The criticism is advanced that writers and researchers who have argued that much of the recent educational reforms have not been based on firm research foundation also at one and the same time imbue such policies with far reaching and critical effects.

Why then do we presume that a policy constructed on confused principles that take no account of the processes that operate at 'ground level', should have more far-reaching social consequences than earlier policies that tended to be more empirically grounded? (Power, op. cit., p.497)

For Power (op. cit.), policy does not operate from a blank sheet of paper outside of an historical and socio-political location in the sense that policy seeks to change and reinforce the existing status quo. For Power (op. cit.), policy is itself defined and shaped by the existing social order, it is part of and developed through the existing structural inequalities. Following in Dale's (1989, 1994) footsteps, education policy for Power provides an expression of the capitalist state, and education's role is, in classical Marxist terms, to reproduce the inequalities of society. Thus, rather than changing the structure of education, the introduction of the market through policies such as local management of schools merely render more stark the operation of the education system under capitalism and the reproduction of structural inequalities.

In relation to the 'marketing' of education, for instance, I would argue that recent policies cannot have any significant impact on the 'restructuring' of education, not necessarily because the education system is resistant to strategic change,

*but more fundamentally, because education **already operates along market principles**. The distribution of educational provision through 'markets' is not, however, the consequence of 'education policy', and our understanding of the way in which it is structured is unlikely to be vastly expanded by the analysis of policy rhetoric. Education is constructed along market principles simply because of its constitution within, and relationship to, a capitalist mode of production.... By concentrating on the ways in which the operation of the market will be 'distorted' by pre-existing inequalities, we marginalize (sic) the extent to which the pre-existing market has constructed the inequalities. (Power, op. cit., p.498, my emphasis)*

Education, for Power, is placed within the wider context of social policy and the existing structural inequalities of modern capitalism. The social structure is seen to shape and determine the role and intention behind policy as well as the outcomes of any specific policy. Rather than seeking to change education, education policy is an expression of the workings of the capitalist mode of production not separated from it.²²

Power (op. cit.) thus emphasises the consequences of those approaches which do not seek to base themselves within an understanding of capitalism and the interplay of policy with the market. Such approaches, for Power, tend to lead to 'premature evaluation' (p. 497) whereby all policy reforms are seen to directly introduce the market into education as though the market structure of education

²² The role and relationships between the capitalist state and education have been subject to a wide range of discussions and different theoretical positions. This is most clearly distinguished in the debates between Troyna and Hatcher (1994) and Ball (1994)

were not already pre-existence. Power is critical of such an approach which sees the market as the outcome of the policy rather than as the context for the policy. This lack of recognition of the structural has had an impact on policy research and the adequacy of policy research in providing an explanatory tool for understanding educational reform is seen to lead to a situation where policy is not rigorously analysed since the market is defined as the outcome and the market is seen as a political anathema:

In fact, I think the degree of political hostility towards market-orientated strategies may contribute to analytical gaps and disparities... There is a sense in which it seems that we draw on every argument we can find to 'expose' the error of the policy, even if they do not mesh together very comfortably'. (Power, 1992, p.497)

Power (op. cit.) is keen to argue that policy and its impact cannot be measured by the assumption of short-term effects. The prestructuring of education along market lines, for Power, contextualises educational policy and shapes and frames its outcomes. Since the market already exists, the purpose of the measures in the 1988 Act are, for Power, mechanism for reproducing and legitimising the market rather than introducing the market itself. This is important since if the effects of policy were only to serve to maintain the existing social order in its present state, there would be little point for politicians and policy makers to introduce legislative reform. If that is the case, what is the objective of policy and reform of education, what is it about, what is the purpose of the policy rhetoric to which Power (1992) refers? Although there is a need to base policy examinations within the context of 'structural properties', there is a danger that this can, at the same time, diminish the effect of policy and the effects of educational reform.

Towards the end of the article Power (1992) begins to acknowledge an element of efficacy to educational policy if only in terms of the maintenance of the wider system of production. It is interesting to note that policy is contrasted by Power (1992) with the role of schooling in reproducing and legitimising linguistic and cultural capital in terms of the form and content of what constitutes accepted educational knowledge within school.

There is, then, a tension in Power's work which seems to apply a different model of efficacy of policy depending on the focus of that policy. For example, when Power is concerned with the transmission of cultural capital in the form of educational knowledge, the changes brought about by the introduction of the National Curriculum are seen as critical. Yet when Power turns to measures such as local management of schools, the impact of change is diminished within the wider structure of the market.

The formulation and implementation of policy is, quite properly, a matter of sociological interest, and any analysis of schooling which ignores that policy context will be inevitably deficient. Yet, by concentrating on policy, we may be in danger of reducing the significance of the education system to little more than an exemplar... such concerns should not replace explorations of the enduring significance of the transmission and evaluation of school knowledge. (Power, 1992, pp.499-450)

The weakness within Power's work is that it fails to tackle the interplay between policies and the collective impact of policies on schooling and education. In particular, it fails to understand the way that policies, most notably local management of schools and the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority, have reshaped and redefined the socio-political construction of schools, what it 'means' to be a teacher, and how knowledge is itself valued and resourced. This is the one of the critical areas for investigation in this thesis, since it is my contention that LMS in inner London has significantly shifted the construction of schools into individualised units rather than a collective entity (as was the case under ILEA) and that this has implications for those within the school and those outside it. In order to explore how these inter-relationships between policies may work, I will now turn to the work of Ball.

In contrast with the approach adopted by Power (1992), Ball (1997a) argues for a more complex, sophisticated and grounded approach to policy analysis and its effects. Ball's article is worth examining in length since it highlights many of the key issues that have influenced the development and analysis contained within this thesis. Some of the key arguments and issues raised by Ball relating to the specificity of the educational reforms of the mid 1980s are contained within the following sections of the thesis. However, within the context of this section, I wish to focus specifically on questions of 'research', 'research questions' and 'what is policy research?'

In a wide-ranging and controversial article, Ball (1997a) takes issue with many of the epistemological and philosophical arguments behind much contemporary policy analysis. For Ball (1997a) one of the central questions, in terms of policy analysis, is concerned with what constitutes research. Ball (1997a) is critical of what he refers to as 'snapshot' research (p. 258) whereby a

piece of research is done with a narrow focus of, say, one classroom or one lesson without examining the complex interwoven social forces which impinge on policy and its effects.

Ball (1997a) poses some major questions for the development of policy research and educational research. He argues that educational research must be placed within wider context of national and local policy framework and that the 'people' must be inserted into policy research. This has major implications for theorisation of research as well as the research process itself. In essence, Ball's argument is:

(Rather it is) concerned with 'surface epistemology' - the relationships between conceptualisation, research conduct and design and interpretation (Ball, 1997a, p.258).

Critical to Ball's (1997a) argument is the contention that during the last 15 years there has been a major transformation in '*organising principles of social provision right across the public sector*' (p.258). These changes in the public sector have transformed not only the very structure of the public sector but perhaps more importantly, the culture and values of the public sector, what it is and what it is seen to be (Yeatman, 1993, Clarke and Newman, 1997, McIntyre, 1997).

The key points of linkage between the restructuring and revaluing (or ethical retooling) of the public sector are the discourses of excellence, effectiveness and

quality and the logic and culture of the new managerialism²³ in which they are embedded. (Ball, 1997a, p.259)

The changes in the values and culture of the public sector are, for Ball (op. cit.), part of the wider remit of policy reforms. In particular, (and of importance for any discussion about the impact of local management of schools) this had led, for Ball (and others), to the introduction of new management techniques founded in the market and the private sector, with an emphasis on competitive success and a breaking down of bureaucratic structures (Yeatman, 1993, Walsh, 1995, Clarke and Newman, 1997). For Ball (op. cit.) This has 'blurred' the distinction between public and private whereby the 'tools' of the private sector are seen to be applicable to the public sector.²⁴

In terms of its modes of operation the public sector is no longer seen as having special qualities which distinguish it from business. (Ball, 1997a, p.259)

The notion that the reforms of the mid and late 1980s have introduced the mechanisms of the market into education is one widely accepted within educational research (cf. Bash and Coulby (eds.) 1989, Ball, 1990b, Wallace (ed.) 1993 amongst numerous others). But the notion that the public sector is now embodies managerial techniques and practices through simply becoming another offshoot of private business or that there is nothing that distinguishes the public sector from the private is one which needs further examination. Sections 5 and 6 of this thesis investigate the

²³ The issue of the local management of schools as the mechanism for the introduction of the new managerialism in schools is discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

²⁴ What is interesting here is that the private sector was cast as creative, dynamic and economically efficient whilst the public sector was slow, bureaucratic and economically wasteful. This ideological standpoint determined the shape and role of relationships between national and local government throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

implementation of the key policy of local management of schools and seek to show that despite the reforms schooling in inner London has neither become a fully operationalised market, nor have schools become merely a state subsidised version of the private sector. These sections also examine the argument that 'new managerialism' and the management techniques it embodies are now a critical element of the structure of schooling and the ways schools are managed and organised.

There is however, a danger in any simple argument about the effects of the educational reforms. In Power's argument (op. cit.), this is seen to be because policy is borne of and shaped by the pre-existence of the market and structural inequality rather than through the process of the creation of the market. For Ball (op. cit.), there is the assumption that policy has created a 'new moral environment' (p.260) one which shapes the possibilities of future reform and educational change and the operation of social actors within this new regime and managerial paradigm.

*What is achieved in the introduction of the market form into public provision is not simply a new mechanism of resource allocation and distribution but also the **creation of a new moral environment for both consumers and producers.***

(Ball, 1997a, p.260, my emphasis)

However, Ball's (op. cit.) approach is not a simplistic argument about whether or not the effects of the reform can simply be equated to an introduction of the market in a unilinear and causal way. For Ball (op. cit.), much research has itself been based on this simplistic one to one relationship

between the policy and its effects and, in a similar way to Power (op.cit.), Ball is critical of a simplistic and mechanistic approach to reading off the effects of policy in a direct causal way.

Ball (op. cit.) argues that, in reality, policy and the implementation of policy are negotiated, subverted and transformed by the specificity of local and regional forces into which policy is intejected. For Ball, without an understanding of the wide factors which influence the development and implementation of policy, policy research cannot fully deal with the complex interplay between policy and its effects.

Altogether, policy analysis needs to be accompanied by careful regional, local and organisational research if we are to understand the degrees of 'play' and 'room for manoeuvre' involved in the translation of policies into practices or in the differential 'bite' of the disciplines of reform. (Ball, 1997a, p.262)

Ball (op. cit.) sets up series of binaries/dichotomies which he uses as 'benchmarks' to discuss issues of research and to establish a set of 'value judgements' against which to measure 'good' research from 'bad'. These binaries are intended to mark out a typology of 'value judgements' against which the quality of research can be measured. The key elements that mark out 'good' research are a multi-focused, multi-level approach which take into account the specific global, regional and local issues whilst, at the same time, locating policy within its particular historical

construct. By way of example, I want to examine Ball's (op. cit.) third binary which deals specifically with policy and its meaning and contrasts 'bad' research and 'good' research²⁵:

My third binary presents a contrast between a conception of policy which treats policies as clear, abstract and fixed as opposed to one in which policies are awkward, incomplete, incoherent and unstable...The first conception leads easily to the view that policies are or should be realised in the same way in every setting (part of the policy-makers' dreamworld). The second begins with the assumption that local conditions, resources, histories and commitments will differ and the policy realisation will differ accordingly. (Ball, 1997a, p.265)

In addition, such 'good' research is also seen to need an understanding of and a reinsertion of 'people into policy'. In contrast with other approaches, Ball (1997a) sees policies as setting options, as creating frameworks within which different options are available at a number of different levels:

Policies do not normally tell you what to do; they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do is narrowed or changed or particular goals or outcomes are set. A response must still be put together, constructed in context, offset against or balanced by other expectations. All of this involves creative social action of some kind. (Ball, 1997a, p.270)

²⁵ There are similarities here with Codd's (1988) work referred to earlier which in terms of Ball's typology constitutes 'bad' research.

It is here that I think Ball's argument starts to tend towards relativism. The early part of this section examined the abolition of ILEA and highlight the limited room for manoeuvre at any level, micro, macro or political. It is this lack of room to negotiate, subvert or manoeuvre which was critical to the reforms and links to Power's (1992) issue of the dominance of the structural. However, it is not merely the structural 'reasserting' itself than limited the flexibility to implement the educational reforms, it is also the role of political and the relationships between local and central government²⁶.

The consensus created in 1976/77 had lasted for little more than ten years. By 1988, the Government was so confident of its ability to crush all opposition, there was no longer any need for consensus. (Chitty, 1989, p.17)

This straitjacketing of local government and limiting of sites of resistance is, I would argue, key to understanding the abolition of ILEA and the other reforms of the Education Act. This is particular the case in terms of the two interwoven policy initiatives which provide the central focus for this thesis. Firstly, in terms of the abolition of ILEA, it would be trite to say that the room for 'creative social action' was limited. In this example, there is not the opportunity for establishing options, nuances, working out other solutions. This is partly due to the origins of the policy of abolition itself which (perhaps more than any other policy in the Education Reform Act) can be seen as ultimately and centrally a party political act and partly in terms of the policy in that in this case a structure of local government either existed or did not.

²⁶ The relationships between national and local government and the political context in which the reforms were implemented is discussed more fully in sections 5, 6 and 7.

Secondly, in terms of the policy of local management of schools, and within that formula funding of schools, it is again pertinent to ask what opportunity for other options can be generated by a policy which is prescriptive both in terms of what the formula should and should not contain and in terms of what should and should not be delegated to schools, where the schemes themselves were subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for Education ²⁷

Ball (op. cit.) also raises another issue in terms of research on the effects of policy. He highlights the issue of 'time' in relation to research which evaluates policy effects. This in itself highlights the central issue of what constitutes the 'effect' in terms of policy. I have already drawn attention to what I have defined the policy genre and the way this operates so that those involved in the process of policy are able to implement that policy. This is all the more critical given the time delay between the policy, its implementation and analysis through research into the policy:

...time is also problematic in the interpretation of reform. We now have a series of studies which date from the earliest stages of reform up to the present time, most of which are snapshots.... such time-limited studies cannot deliver a sense of the processes of reform and change. Structural change is only one part and one moment in the reform process: change in consciousness, adaptation of practices, the arts of resistance and manoeuvre, 'values drift' (Gerwitz et al., 1995) take place slowly, sometimes almost imperceptibly over time...there is a general problem concerning the status of 'findings' and 'conclusions' from such one-off studies. At what point is it valid to begin to draw conclusions about the effects of policy? After one year, or five, or ten. (Ball, 1997a, p.267)

²⁷ These issues are discussed in more detail in sections 5 and 6.

I would argue that the given the fundamental nature of the policy reforms of the mid to late 1980s, it is only possible with hindsight to make judgement about their impact. The changes to the relationships between central and local government are still continuing and the new Labour Government has extended local management of schools under the Fair Funding regime and has altered the role of local education authorities in a way whereby their future is unclear. In particular, as I argue in the postscript to this thesis, perhaps the most marked impact of the reforms should not be judged in terms of the system of local education that existed before the Education Reform Act, but, in terms of the way the reforms have become the political and educational orthodoxy of the late 1990s.

Central to Ball's (op. cit.) argument is an attempt to posit a theoretical framework which can do justice to the complex nature of the social reality of policy and its implementation. However, there are fundamental issues concerning the nature of research (what it is, who does it, and what it seeks to show) that are always based on a partial picture of reality. There is an implicit danger with Ball's (op. cit.) attempt to recreate the real world of policy through research since it can never be more than a 'snapshot' of reality, an exemplar of what the world is like, rather than the world itself.

There is a sense, then, in which Ball's (op.cit.) attempt to capture the fluid and constant variation of reality and the implicit desire to 'encompass the world' in the research process (both through its original design and through to its analysis) leads to research that can only exist in the virtual that is 'real time' research. Yet, research, if it is anything is a way of organising the world with hindsight, a

means of imposing order on the messiness of social reality in order to understand (and influence) that reality. Whilst accepting need to take into account a number of the specificities of any research and particularly in policy terms of linking and interweaving the effects of policy with other policies, with local, national and global issues and with the role of the social actor through 'peopling policy' - is this not the researchers dream rather than the reality. Is Ball setting the researcher an impossible task?

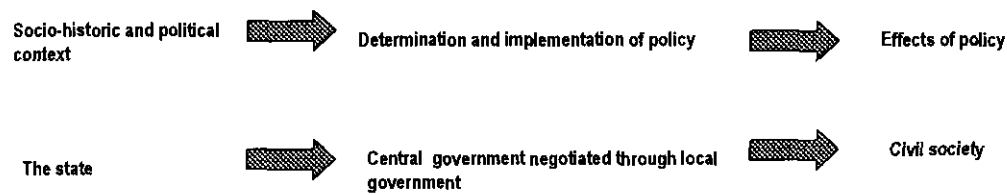
In order to establish a model which can do justice to Power's (op. cit.) argument for an understanding of the structural and Ball's (op.cit.) argument concerning the specificity of the local, regional and national context, there needs to be an understanding of what policy is, how it is defined and what it represents. My argument is that policy is both part of and an expression of the wider structural inequalities of society whilst accepting that this has different constituencies at any particular time and in any particular policy context. Moreover, I would argue that the development of a policy and its implementation are often a contradictory and complex process, which sometimes leads to unintended consequences. In sections 4, 5 and 6, I seek to draw attention to the 'messiness' and contradictions and complexities of policy development and implementation and the ways in which this has an impact on an understanding of the abolition of ILEA and the implement of local management of schools in inner London. Hence, I am seeking to develop a model which can *accommodate the need to recognise the local and national specificity of policy, which accounts for 'peopling of policy' (Ball, 1997a) and does justice to Dale's (1994) definition of the central project of the sociology of education which:*

Essentially includes a commitment to changing rather than merely analysing education. (Dale, 1994, p.31)

2.8. Developing a model for understanding education policy

The arguments put forward by Power (1992), Dale (1994) and Ball (1997a) require the development of a more complex model of the relationship between policy, its origins, its implementation and its effects. This model needs to accept the location of policy within the wider structures of society and the specific local and national circumstances which both shape the policy itself and shape its effects.

Diagram 1



In this model the socio-historical and political context shape and inform the way policy is determined and the type and nature of that policy. The policy in turn shapes and influences the implementation and the effect of policy. However, the reverse is also true, that the implementation and effects of policy also shape and determine future policy and they are important in shaping the socio-historic and political context.

To give a specific example, the socio-historic and political context of the mid-1980s lead to concerns about the role and function of the welfare state and within this the emphasis on reforming

education as part of that welfare state (Ham and Hill, 1990, Dale, 1989). These reforms which were predicated on the ideological framework of the 'new right' Conservative Government sought to introduce a quasi-market mechanism through policies such as local management in schools. In inner London, this policy was negotiated through and by the new inner London education authorities post ILEA. The specific effects of this policy were to change both the funding of schools, the role of local education authorities and what the role of schools were seen to be. Hence we have a model that looks like this:

Diagram 2



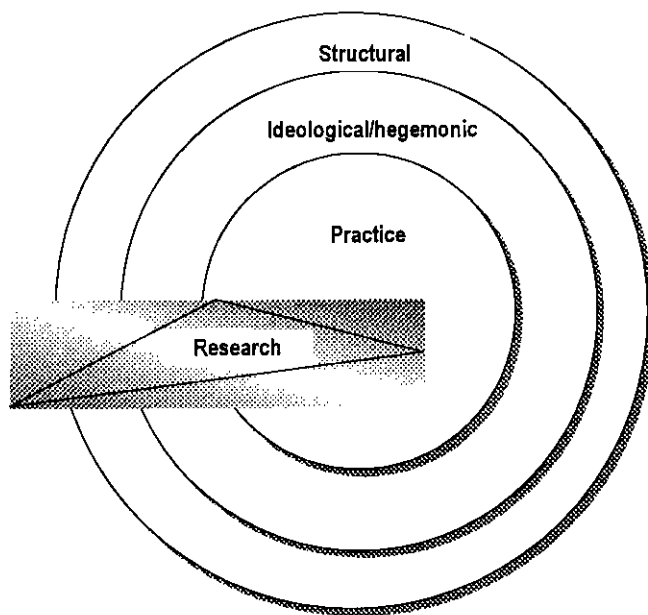
It is also important to note that again, the reverse flow also holds true. As Section 5 shows, the specific changes that LMS brought about were redefined, reinterpreted and refined following their actual implementation. The refining of the form and structure of local management and the role of the local education authority, and the specifics of the socio-historic and political context influences and shapes the determination of future policy.

This leads us on to a discussion of the effects of policy, what these are and how they can be researched and measured. As stated above, the two different positions of Ball (1997a) and Power (1992) place different emphasis on what constitutes the effect of policy. For Ball (1997a), the effects of policy have a variety of complex effects both in terms of the specific outcomes of the policy and in terms of the change in culture and values that specific policies have brought about.

For Power (1992), the emphasis is more in terms of the effects of policy being to maintain and legitimise the structural out of which policy was shaped.

For the purposes of this thesis and the research and analysis which underpins it, the effects of policy are seen to operate at different levels and to produce differential effects. There is an interrelationship between the structural, the ideological or hegemonic and the practice and quantitative effects of a policy which can be best represented diagrammatically, thus:

Diagram 3



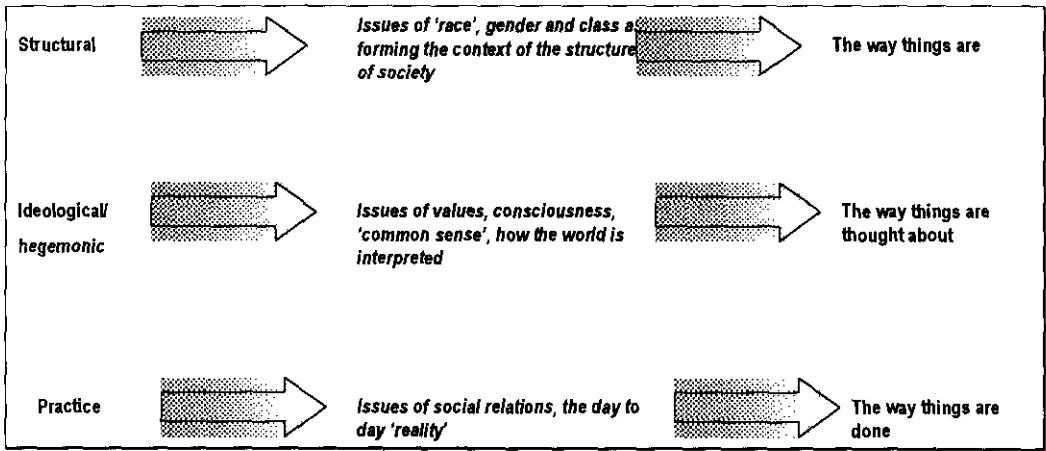
Research cannot do more than examine a slice of social reality and seek to develop an analysis which allows us to place that analysis within the wider social context. Critical research of the type

emphasised by Ball, (1997a) can seek to place that research within a broader framework so that it more accurately explains reality, but, it can never be more than a 'snapshot'.

This, of course, raises questions about the effects of policy and the relationship between policy and practice, policy and the ideological/hegemonic and policy and the structural. Again, the model developed through this thesis sees policy as a fluid notion, as one encompassing elements of all three areas. In a sense policy and its effects are both the oiling on the cogs of contemporary society and part of those cogs. Policy in that sense cannot be separated from the socio-historic and political context of which it is a part.

Again, it may be more useful to express the concepts through a graphical representation:

Diagram 4

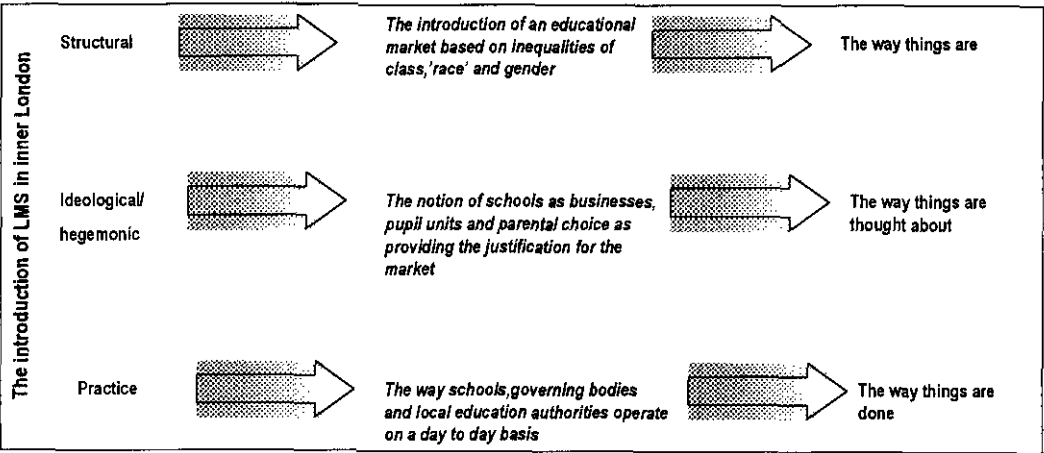


Policy and the effects of policy can therefore be located at all of these levels: as having a role in the reinforcing and maintaining of structural inequality; of influencing and developing common-sense

notions about how we interpret the world; and in terms of the way social action is actually conducted.

In terms, then, of the two specific policies which form the focus of this research, this model allows a more complex and flexible analysis to be developed. Specifically in terms of local management of schools in the post-ILEA boroughs, this model can be fleshed out as follows:

Diagram 5



Any account which takes into consideration the notion of policy as operating both at the level of the structural, the level of the ideological/hegemonic and at the level of practice, needs to incorporate issues of social justice such as gender, 'race' and class. Ball (1997a) acknowledges the centrality of this in research in the last section of his article:

It is one thing to consider the 'effects' of policies upon abstract social collectivities. It is another to attempt to capture the complex interplay of identities and interest and coalitions and conflicts within the processes and enactment of policy...It is important to recognise that social diversity and 'difference' are important bases for understanding a range of active social forces involved in and resistant to change - recognition is important. Equally, however, the effects of policy play upon and through the basic social facts of poverty, oppression and inequality. (Ball, 1997a, p.271)

This interplay between 'social justice issues' as part of the structures of power of modern British²⁸ society is central to the approach taken by this research and forms part of the key to the methodological and analytical shape that the research took. These structural inequalities are critical to understanding both the role of policy in its widest sense and the implications of policy implementation. For Troyna, (1994), the importance of educational research particularly in the arena of policy, is to raise key issues about the political processes at work and to tie educational research to a argument for political change:

In common with some of the analytical perspectives developed in recent years on teachers and teacher education.... education policy sociology may well deal with the sorts of questions which interest critical social researchers. What it does not do is harness that analysis to an explicit political commitment to change things. (Troyna, 1994, p.72)

²⁸ British is used in this context to refer to England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. However, the specific focus of this research is the educational reforms of the mid-1980s. As pointed out elsewhere, these reforms were introduced primarily into

Troyna (1994) argues that key to any understanding of the policy process is a need to place educational policy within a wider sociological context. This context is seen as critical seen it both allows for a more sophisticated analysis and it raises key questions about the impact of policy on specific groups and collectivities.

Central to Troyna's (1994) critique of Ball's earlier work is an emphasis on the role of the state. Here the state is not cast either as an overarching all controlling entity, but rather as a contradictory process of political power. In Troyna's (1994) analysis, power is fought over, it is contested, small and large victories are won and lost between the national and the local state, between the state and (for want of a better word) its 'citizens'.

As the dissolution of the Inner London Education Authority and severe weakening of the powers of other Local Authorities demonstrate, the overwhelming greater strength in the national state provides with it the potential to silence serious opposition within the local state. Of course, that realization is not inevitable. As the national boycott of national testing by the teachers unions in 1993 showed, opposition at the local level can be effective when it takes on more collective, active and strategic forms. (Troyna, 1994, p.77)

England and Wales and have a different emphasis in other parts of Britain. Moreover, as already pointed out the focus of this research is the inner London boroughs rather than England and Wales.

One of the weaknesses of this approach is the way in which political is cast in a specific and particular form. For Troyna (1994), political action is political with a capital 'P', that is it is constructed through the 'traditional' structures of trade unionism, mass collective action and the like.

One of the notions I wish to raise as part of this thesis, is a more subtle form of political action which takes place in the classrooms, schools and local education authorities which form part of this research. Here political action is not seen as 'taking on the mass power of the state', nor is it about mass collective action, it is about the decisions and discussions that governors, headteachers and local governments make in their day to day interactions and the way they seek to marginalise some of the perceived problems with any policy. It is this focus that forms part of the analysis of this thesis.

Of significance in this discussion and perhaps a salient example, is the way governing bodies have been seen to deal with the introduction of the market reforms in education. The continuing work of some researchers has been to examine the way individual governing bodies have negotiated their way within the political and ideological framework which has shaped education policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In particular, the work of Deem, Brehony and Heath (1994 and 1995) has focused on the different mechanisms and rationales that governing bodies have as a response to the market in education.

In their work, Deem and Brehony and Heath (1994) examine the different approaches governing bodies took in terms of their response to the introduction of the educational 'quasi-market' in

schools. These researchers set up a contrast between previous forms of management which are seen as being based at the centre (be it national or local government) with the implementation of delegated power and 'site based management' (p.535). For Deem, Brehony and Heath the intention (and in many ways the effects) of local management is to establish an educational market based on the unit of the individual school:

Thus between 1988 and 1993, a concerted attempt was made by the Government to subject the provision of state schooling to market forces: a market where schools are locally managed by heads and governing bodies, offer diversity and responsiveness to parents and pupils, and are funded on a basis which gives the most money to schools with the largest number of pupils.

(Deem, Brehony and Heath, 1994, p.537)

The role of governing bodies within this market is seen to be both a part of the ideological and political context of the reforms and as having an ideological and political effect.

'Governing bodies operate within a legal and socio-political framework which is itself underlain by a particular set of ideological beliefs and values about who should be involved in the lay administration of education, why they should be involved, what they should do and why' (Deem, Brehony and Heath, 1994, p.538)

This reinforces the point made earlier about the overlapping relationship between policy and its effects, between the ideological and political context and the ideological and political contents of

specific policy initiatives. In the case of local management of schools, Deem, Brehony and Heath (1994 and 1995) argue that the governing bodies in their study both became part of the effects of educational reforms as well as having little room for manoeuvre in terms of the implementation of these policies.

In essence, for Deem, Brehony and Heath (1994) the net effect of the reforms to governing bodies and the delegation of power from local authorities in order to implement a 'quasi market' within education has within it the seeds of its own demise. Even in school governing bodies where the political ideology of an educational market was not accepted wholesale, governing bodies were faced with a *fait accompli* whereby the need to recruit more of the 'right type' of pupils became paramount²⁹. In order to ensure that the school had the budget to meet its requirements, the governing bodies in this study were increasingly forced to look at marketing strategies to increase the take-up rate for future pupils rather than the educational issues of importance to the school. In the end, these governing bodies tended to focus on competing for the smallest niche of the educational market, that of the middle class academic high achiever. For Deem, Brehony and Heath (1994) this emphasis on making the school attractive to this particular market niche has the effect of highlighting the implicit contradiction of a market mechanism in what is still a national system of education.

Far from preserving or fostering diversity then, many schools may be trying to move towards uniformity by attracting the same, desirable, middle class, white parents and children. (Deem, Brehony and Heath, 1994, p.547)

²⁹ The issue of formula funding and the concept of the 'right type' of pupil will be discussed more fully in later sections.

2.9. Conclusion: drawing together the strands

The purpose of this literature review has been to highlight some of the key debates that have framed the focus for this research on the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools in inner London. In particular, drawing on anti-racist, feminist and social justice approaches it has drawn attention to the specific circumstances of inner London and the role that those circumstances played in shaping the policy measure that became the abolition of ILEA and the introduction of local management of schools.

Through an examination of the contrasting work of Power (1992) and Ball (1997a) I have sought to develop a model of policy implementation that can both address wider structural issues and do justice to the complexities of regional, national and local contexts from which policy is developed and into which and through which policy is implemented. The argument being developed is that policy is developed within a particular set of political forces and power structures and has a particular set of effects – some of which are more 'intended' by the originators of the policy than others.

Moreover, I have sought to emphasise that the implementation of policy is not a simplistic or direct process. The effect of the local context of policy can have unintended outcomes, different to those original concerns which shaped the formulation of policy. It is an acknowledgement of this 'messiness' of policy implementation and the role of local circumstances and conditions which provides the framework for the analysis which is developed in the next three sections.

This 'messiness', in terms of my research is defined by the particular circumstances of the inner London context, the role of the Inner London Education Authority and the specific role that local government in inner London played in the implementation of the national policy of the introduction of local management of schools. However, in order to understand the analysis, it is important to understand the methodological considerations that shaped and framed the research and the research process. It is therefore to methodological issues that I now want to turn.

3. Methodological Issues in Education Policy Research – researching the real?

Knowing, the aim of all research, is a political process, so all knowledge is intrinsically political. (Skeggs, 1994, p.79)

3.1. Introduction

The very act of 'doing research' raises profound philosophical and epistemological questions about *the nature and existence of social reality and the methods used to interrogate and analyse that* reality. These 'questions' about the essential rationale for research, the existence (or otherwise) of the 'real' and how the research explores, recreates and makes sense of the 'real' are central to any understanding of the nature of research particularly when applied to the area of education policy. In many ways the questions of what is the 'real', what is being researched, and what is social reality are more critical to the research endeavour than the adoption of an individual or specific method with which to conduct the research. Without an understanding of what is to be researched, the particularities of any method cannot be fully comprehended.

This section is intended to deal with many of these issues and to give an understanding of how the resolution and non-resolution of several key epistemological and methodological questions have influenced the form and the structure of the research. In particular, the section seeks to deal with some of the issues raised by the literature review about education policy research and places such discussions within the context of debates within anti-racist and feminist research and research from

a social justice perspective³⁰. It draws on some of the key issues raised in the previous section and is an attempt to place those debates within the context of a specific piece of education policy research.

The section is divided into two main areas, each of which seeks to raise a specific set of methodological and epistemological concerns and to place these within the wider context of feminist, anti-racist and social justice research. In addition, each area will show how the dilemmas raised by these concerns have been resolved (or otherwise) through the research process itself.

The first area focuses on the key question of what is the 'real, what is 'social reality' and examines the debates surrounding objectivity, reliability and validity and the applicability of these concepts within my own research. This in a sense constitutes an attempt to address the question of 'what is being researched?' The second area concentrates on some of the issues surrounding the nature of the research for education policy, the role of the researcher in terms of the framing of research and the choices that were made to examine a specific area that of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools into inner London and the methods used to do the research and represents the 'how' and the 'why' of the research.

3.2. Putting the 'real' into 'reality': notions of objectivity, validity and reliability – contradictions and quandaries?

It is a truism to say that in order for researchers to research they must research something! However, the 'something' that constitutes the social world, the 'real' and the way it is defined or

³⁰ For a discussion of the development of social justice perspectives see Griffiths and Troyna, 1995, Gewirtz, 1998

constructed has been critical in the debates surrounding feminism, anti-racism and educational research in the last two decades. Contrary to the postmodernist's position³¹, I would argue that knowledge of the 'real' is dependent on the existence of a 'real' to know, otherwise there is, in a sense, no knowledge. Therefore, the centrality of what is the 'real' has had profound implications for the educational research and research which seeks to examine a policy aspect of social reality.

Any notion or conception of what constitutes the 'real' is critical in understanding both the methodology and the methods used by researchers to undertake their research and to distinguish it from 'non-research'. As highlighted in the previous section, the issue of what is research and what is reality is centrally important to understanding education policy research. In order to highlight some of the key issues in the debate about the 'real', I will examine the discussions surrounding the key concept of positivist social science, 'objectivity'.

The concept of 'objectivity', and the measurement of 'objectiveness' through the 'validity' and 'reliability' of the research, have a long history in the social and natural sciences as a mechanism for establishing the 'truthfulness' of a piece of research (cf. Easthope, 1974, Bulmer (ed.), 1984, Cohen and Manion, 1989). In the traditional model of the positivist research, the objectiveness of a piece of research can be determined by the extent to which the methodology can be replicated (that is it is reliable) and similar conclusions found (that is it is valid). This conceptual framework of objectivity, reliability and validity are the tools of positivism which builds on quantitative methods

³¹ A number of postmodernists have argued that there is no 'real' only different interpretations of it. For these researchers, there is no 'real' out there merely a variety of narratives, discourses, and stories which researchers can help to tell. Indeed, the aim of research is seen not be to produce a 'snapshot' of the social world but to produce a virtual reality of that social world. This is particularly the position adopted by writers such as Scheurich, 1997.

(such as questionnaires, surveys, and censuses) to investigate the social world. Here the 'real' is an object which is capable of being quantified, measured and replicated (Kolakowski, 1993).

Positivism (which has its roots in the scientific theoretical models of the nineteenth century) and the methods it employs has been a central force in the development of the social and political sciences of the twentieth century. The ability of the positivist framework to produce 'hard' data through the use of quantitative methods has had major attractions. In particular, research generated within a positivist framework is seen as having major advantages over other forms of research since it is deemed to be both generalisable and without 'bias'³².

For the positivist, knowledge itself then is 'neutral' in the sense that it is the logical output of a series of carefully defined and scientifically valid sets of observations of the 'real'. The internal validity of a piece of research for positivists thus lie in whether another researcher could take the same tools, apply them to a different set of circumstances or people and get the same results.

Defined in the most general terms positivism is a collection of prohibitions concerning human knowledge, intended to confine the name 'knowledge' or 'science' to the results of those operations that are observable in the evolution of the modern sciences of nature. (Kolakowski, 1993, p.7)

³² Positivism is still a strong force in government and other circles whereby the results of questionnaires, surveys or censuses are seen as 'facts' which are not subject to alternative interpretations. This is particularly the case in the production of official government statistics (cf. Government Statisticians Collective, 1993)

In the positivist model, the 'real' is 'out there'. It exists as an objective reality regardless of the researcher's own opinions, beliefs or politics. It has a structure and a framework which can be discovered and analysed through the application of scientific methods to produce quantitative data which can be analysed using statistical methods. Analysis and the methodological endeavour, thus produce a descriptive account of the 'real' which is not gendered and without 'race' or class, it is (merely?) a description which, through the process of validating and generalising the research, can be seen as more or less accurate³³.

This notion of the 'real' as out there and 'objectivity' as a neutral description of the real has been challenged from a range of perspectives, particularly from feminists and postmodernists who have argued with the assumptions of 'neutrality' that positivism imposes on the 'real'. From the feminist angle, 'objectivity' has been seen as a means by which the masculinist traditions of positivist social science can be used, at a minimum, to deny women's experience, and at a maximum be part of the power structure and process that marginalise and oppress women (Eichler, 1988, Haraway, 1988, Bhavnani, 1993, Maynard, 1994, Deem, 1996, to name but a few). For postmodernists, 'objectivity' is part of the tools used by the modern which can no longer be applied to the post-modern world. For them, 'objectivity' is a defunct and debunked concept which can serve only to impede knowledge of the social world (Lather, 1991, Scheurich, 1997, Stronach and MacLure, 1997).

³³ This is the model on which large numbers of undergraduate courses and 'how to' guides for doing research are based. In these publications, the aura of neutrality is maintained through a descriptive account of research methods with often little attention to wider epistemological debates although this may be raised in passing (cf. Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 1996)

In contrast to positivism, feminist notions of the 'real' are bounded within a 'subjective' framework. For feminists the 'real' is not merely 'out there' but is shaped by and part of the real 'in here'. Feminism has raised the construction and production of knowledge and the social world are structured in ways which marginalise women's experiences and reinforce masculinist systems of power and oppression (Stanley and Wise, 1983, Haraway, 1988, Stanley and Wise, 1990, Acker, 1994, Stanley and Wise, 1993). For some feminists, there is no objectivity as such, merely an interpretation of the 'real' that seeks to empower one group (men) over another (women) (Stanley and Wise, 1983 and 1993). For other feminists, the 'real' and our knowledge of it, is partial, limited, incomplete, and it is strand of feminism which has shaped the role of my research and its theoretical and epistemological approach.

3.3. Situated knowledge and situating knowledge

A number of feminists have argued that feminist and other approaches based on models of social justice produce a different form of knowledge to those acquired through the positivist tradition. This 'feminist' knowledge takes into account the commitment to change that is central to feminism and the need to render women's voices and women's experiences visible (Ramazanoglu, 1992, Maynard, 1994). Moreover, feminist accounts (particularly those seeking to develop a critical approach to postmodernism) have also drawn attention to the historical construction of knowledge and the social construction of 'objectivity' (Harding, 1987, Lather, 1991, Bhavnani, 1993, Acker, 1994).

For example, Haraway (1988) grapples with the critiques made by postmodernists about the positivist notion of objectivity. For Haraway (1988), there is a need to balance the fragmentary and chaotic 'real' of the postmodernist with the desire for an 'objectivity' which empowers and has its roots in political change:

*So, I think my problem, and 'our' problem, is how to have **simultaneously** an account of radical historical contingency for all knowledge claims and knowing subjects, a critical practice for recognizing our own 'semiotic technologies' for making meanings **and** a no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of a 'real' world...(Haraway, 1988, p.578, emphasis in original)*

Haraway (1988) argues that a resolution of this tension between the need to have an element of the 'real' in our notions of 'reality' and the recognition of the social and historical forces which shape knowledge and access to knowledge, can be achieved through a stance, a vision, a gaze. That is:

Feminist objectivity means quite simply situated knowledges. (Haraway, 1988, p. 581)

Situated knowledge is seen as the 'view from below' (pp585), it is the view of the world from those who are not in positions of power.

Bhavnani (1993) builds on the argument put forward by Haraway's (1988) work. Bhavnani stresses the importance of partiality of feminist research and feminist theory. Here the issue is one of how

knowledge is produced, by whom and why and how it becomes 'privileged knowledge' (p.96). For Bhavnani, (1993), the history of the development of knowledge is shaped by social, political and historical forces which structure production of knowledge and limit access to it. Knowledge is seen as a social construct shaped by the social relations of its time³⁴

In particular, Bhavnani (1993) raises the issue of the importance of locating research within an historical framework and accepting that (in contrast to the views of Stanley and Wise, 1983 and 1990, 1993), there are differences between and amongst women both as the subjects of research and as researchers which influence the creation of 'objective' knowledge.

*This way of writing history, that is, that conflicting interests among women are made **visible** can lead to questions arising about objective knowledges. In other words, this approach can demonstrate that objective knowledges are situated and partial, not impartial and disembodied, and neither are they transcendent.*

(Bhavnani, 1993, p.96)

The concepts of 'situated knowledge' and 'privileged knowledge' are key in the approach taken in this research. This is critical given the focus for the research of a 'real' (the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the implementation of local management of schools) that does not easily conform to narrow definitions of what constitutes feminist research.

³⁴ This idea of the social construction and production of knowledge has similarities with Marxist work in the late 1960s and 1970s

3.4. Researching ILEA – as a feminist?

As stated earlier, there has been a long and continuing tradition of debate about what constitutes feminist research (Maynard, 1994, Weiner, 1997). Early definitions which sought to define feminist research in terms of the model 'by women', 'for women', 'about women' have been challenged and criticised for creating a feminist orthodoxy which has dictated both the areas open to feminist enquiry and the methods to be used for the that enquiry.

It is a constraining approach that fails to allow for growth and change and builds in an assumption that the new gatekeepers are to replace the old ones in determining proper research. (Harding, 1991, p.58)

There is, in many ways, a distinction that can be drawn between feminists whose research is defined by what could be described as a focus on 'situated knowledge', the need to empower the voiceless, to give voice to those without voice and to justify and locate those voices in the 'real', and, those who are examining the creation of 'privileged knowledge', that is how knowledge comes to be created, defined or even imposed as the norm³⁵.

Education policy research by its very nature has to place itself within an examination of the creation of 'privileged knowledge' since policy is a part of the structure which creates 'privileged knowledge'.

concerning the reproduction of cultural capital and the role of the education system as a means of legitimising specific forms and contents of knowledge (cf. Willis, 1977, Bowles and Gintis, 1976, Swartz, 1997)

³⁵ It may be useful (although a little simplistic) to see this distinction in terms of feminists who draw their roots from the radical feminist model which sees a unity between all women and has led to the development of 'women's studies' and those from other traditions such as socialist feminists who tend to reject the specificity of sisterhood. For an overview of developments in women's studies see Robinson, V. and Richardson D., 1997)

Accepting the basic feminist premise that there is a differential power relationship between men and women and given the creation of policy by central government and other institutions, policy must by definition be an expression of one group with power seeking to implement change. Therefore the concept of privileged knowledge can have a critical role in understanding education policy in addition to the creation of 'academic' knowledge.

The examination of education policy therefore raises particular dilemmas for feminist and other researchers committed to social justice since:

...the very notion of a feminist approach to researching the powerful in education would appear to be a contradictory, incongruous enterprise. To state the obvious, the powerful are rarely women, and by definition, never are they the dispossessed. Even in education, power beyond the classroom is rarely in the hands of women. (Mickelson, 1994, p.132)³⁶

Despite this dilemma, there has been a long history of feminists researching and examining social policy both in its general sense and in the specifics of a particular education policy (cf. Finch, 1984b, Ozga, 1987, David, 1993). From an anti-racist perspective, researchers have also focused on education policy in relation to the inequalities of 'race' (cf. Troyna, 1992, and 1994, Hatcher, Troyna and Gewirtz, 1996, for example).

³⁶ This quote could be extended equally to cover other oppressed groups and categories, e.g. 'race', class, disability and sexuality

Education policy research from a feminist and anti-racist tradition has examined both the policy in itself (Troyna, 1992) and the effect of that policy on specific groups (David, 1993). My own research into the twin policies of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the implementation of local management of schools seeks to build on that work by examining two key aspects; the first is the policy in itself (by this I mean the policy as a discrete entity existing in its own right) and the policy in practice (that is whether the policy when implemented has the effects intended as part of its conception). In essence, these two aspects constitute the questions that the research set out to investigate and these can be summed up as follows:

- Why was the Inner London Education Authority abolished?
- What were the effects of that abolition?
- Why was local management of schools introduced?
- What specific effects did LMS have on the structure of education in Inner London?

Such a focus for research does not readily lend itself to falling within a feminist and anti-racist framework since by its very definition it does not appear at first sight to have a gender or 'race' aspect to it. Moreover, it does not seek to necessarily empower the powerless since an examination of these policies not by definition one that gives voice to the powerless. It does, however, aim to give the 'powerless' or more accurately, those with less power³⁷ a 'voice' in shaping the explanations of the policies and their effects.

Having said that, there is a further issue of how this research has been shaped by anti-racist and anti-feminist concerns. This is because, I would argue, one of the ways in which 'privileged knowledge' is maintained is through the creation of an aura of neutrality and a myth of equality. This is particularly the case in terms of education policy and the focus of this research on the policies originating from the Education Reform Act 1988 since despite the gloss of neutrality:

The actual reforms of ERA make explicit the value position which generates inequalities. The ERA speaks the language of neutrality whilst holding inequality firmly in its place...ERA is a specifically gendered (and 'raced') piece of legislation that represents an attack on all work that challenges inequalities.

(Skeggs, 1994, p.75-76)

Therefore the 'real' for this research represents the two policies of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools. 'Real' in the sense that both existed as pieces of legislation and as policy formations (in terms of written texts and documents) and 'real' in the sense of having an impact on the structure and control of education and ultimately on schools within the capital. I would define the research as both feminist and anti-racist since it seeks to highlight the supposed neutrality of the policies and expose this to the critical analysis of feminism and anti-racism.

In terms of issues of 'objectivity', my intention behind the research was twofold. Firstly to carry out research that produced 'situated knowledge'; situated both by my own concerns, interests and

³⁷ cf.. Walford, 1994, for a discussion of who constitutes the powerful and the powerless in educational research.

politics and situated in terms of the researched and their views on the forces behind and implications of the two policies (that is the 'real' 'in here'). Secondly, to gain an understanding of the way in which knowledge becomes 'privileged', that is the way that a specific conception of education, schools and local education authorities has been shaped, defined and reconstituted as the 'norm' within the state schooling system of the 1990s (in essence the 'real' 'out there').

In terms of my research, 'situated knowledge' that is knowledge shaped by position of the researcher and the researched allowed for a particular set of research tools and methods which are predominantly qualitative in nature. In contrast 'privileged knowledge' or more accurately the expression of 'privileged knowledge' in terms of policy documents and texts was more appropriately examined through more quantitative methods. It is to this area, the adoption of specific research approach, that I now wish to turn.

3.5. Researching Policy: Choosing an approach – the case of the case study

Feminists write case studies for the same reasons that nonfeminists scholars write them – to illustrate an idea, to explain the process of development over time, to show the limits of generalizations, to explore uncharted issues, with a limited case, and to pose provocative issues. (Rheinharz, 1992, p.167)

The research approach adopted to examine the issues of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of the policy of local management of schools in inner London was through the use of a case study.

The case study approach was chosen since by their very nature the two policies and their focuses and the effects of the policies were, in many ways, unique and temporal. Unique in the sense that ILEA existed as a particular legal and local government entity and temporal in the sense that the research is seeking to examine the reasons behind its abolition which by definition was a limited timeframe. In terms of local management, the aim of the research was to answer the question of what were the reasons for the introduction of LMS and what effects had the introduction of the policy had.

I would argue that case study research thus provided the most appropriate approach to making sense of these policies and further, that case study research allowed a combination of different research methods to be adopted which enabled examination of the research data (Yin, 1989, Weber, 1990, Rheinharz, 1992).

Although case study research has been applied to a wide range of different issues in education, there is little concrete agreement on what constitutes case study research (Elliott, 1990). Most of the researchers who have adopted such an approach have stressed the use of the one, the particular, the 'case' as the basis for their study (Yin, 1989, Elliott, 1990). It is this focus on the 'one' as against the 'many' which can be seen to hallmark of the case study approach:

...a case study is an examination of a specific phenomenon, such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group. (Merriam, 1988, p.9)

Thus, the use of the case study as an approach is defined by its subject matter. What is the researcher seeking to investigate, what is the issue or phenomena under examination? In the case of my research, the aim was to examine the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority, to understand and examine the reasons for its abolition and to examine the structures and policies (most notably local management of schools) that replaced it. Although, as is argued later, the abolition of the ILEA had similarities to and implications for the relationships between local and central government, and the introduction of local management of schools in inner London gives an insight to the introduction of the market into education, it is precisely due to its own uniqueness that the case study approach was adopted. This raises the question of the extent to which case studies can provide useful data and analyses which can be generalised to other areas (Deem, and Brehony, 1994). This is critical given the issues of objectivity and situated and 'privileged knowledge' raised above and issues of analytical approach raised later.

The short answer is that case studies, like experiments are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a 'sample', and the investigator's goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytical generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalizations). (Yin, 1989, p.21)

Yin (1989) argues that the strength of case study as a particular approach to research lies in its ability to understand the complex events and circumstances where behaviour cannot be manipulated (Yin, 1989, p.19). For Yin (1989) the case study is a specific research strategy rather than a particular method which can encompass a range of research methods.

A case study is an empirical inquiry that:

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when*
- the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident; and*
- in which*
- multiple sources of evidence are used. (Yin, 1989, p.23)*

In terms of my own research, the contemporary phenomena was the abolition of ILEA and the introduction of LMS in inner London examined through the real-life context of the experiences of policy makers, headteachers, governors and school administrative staff and the context of policy documentation. The boundaries between the phenomena and its context was both unclear and at the same time contested since those subject to the changes were also part of the change mechanism themselves, that is they were also implementing policy. For example, local government officers would be (often within the space of a couple of months) presenting arguments against the introduction of local management of schools and setting in place the mechanism for implementing local management.

For Deem and Brehony (1994) the value of the case study approach is its ability to deal with the complex nature of reality particularly in terms of changes in policy. In their work on school

governors, Deem and Brehony (1994) reject a linear approach to case study research and analysis which sees a step by step approach to research. They argue that such approaches cannot do justice to the tangled complex reality of recent changes in education:

This is particularly the case in research spread over several years and where the pace of policy change is considerable, as issues and questions which could not have even been formulated at the start of research inevitably arise. (Deem and Brehony, 1994, p.160)

It was in order to seek to capture this complexity of the educational world of policy that the case study approach was used in this research. Moreover, given the time limited phenomena under study (the abolition of ILEA and the implementation of local management of schools) Case study research further gave an opportunity to develop and use different research methods which were appropriate to the particular source of evidence under investigation and the type of knowledge that it produced. Case study thus enabled a specific focus to the research and the use of a number of different methods.

3.6. Researching Policy: Choosing a method

The feminist debates referred to earlier, which have shaped discussion around the notion of 'objectivity', have also been influential in critically analysing the use of research methods. This debate has been particularly vigorous for feminists who have argued that the use of positivist quantitative methods may constitute a 'masculinist' or 'male' approach to research which

marginalises and undervalues women's experience (cf. Stanley, and Wise, 1993, Rheinharz, 1992, Rheinharz, 1983).

As I have argued the value of the case study lies both in the ability to focus on the individual and unique and in the range of methods which can be used within the research. Hence, for my research different research techniques and methods were used to provide different forms and types of data which all have a value in seeking to understand social reality³⁸. This is particularly an issue where the focus of the research includes the 'powerful' (Walford, 1994) since the powerful maintain their power through the creation of the myth of a neutral and objective real and therefore quantitative data which is often used by the powerful to support this neutrality is fundamental in understanding the creation of that neutrality. Hence in terms of the approach adopted by this research, I would concur with Skeggs, (1994) in that:

It is the underlying ontology and epistemology that defines research as feminist.

The methods we use are not gendered: it is the use to which we put them that is.

(Skeggs, 1994, p.80)

The sets of assumptions used by researcher to frame their research are in many ways central to the definition of the topic for research and the methods employed for that research. They give the boundaries to the research topic to the extent of determining which areas are suitable for research whilst at the same time having implications for the methods used to investigate that area. They

³⁸ See Kelly, Regan and Burton (1995) for a discussion of the use of quantitative methods in investigating sexual abuse. This is particularly interesting given the 'feminist' nature of the research topic.

provide the 'ideological framework' within which the researcher works. Areas for research do not exist in a vacuum; there are, in themselves, a reflection of a variety of external and internal pressures on the researcher and often reflect the priorities of research funding agencies³⁹ or an individual researchers own interest. In that sense, research can never be neutral since even at the level of 'what is to be researched'; there are a series of decisions which impinge upon the research process.

Decisions, choices and selections on these matters are never arbitrary. They connect inextricably with the researcher's paradigmatic and personal interests and agendas with those of the agents who fund the research, the subjects of the research, and with the data which the research process generates. (Evans, J. and Penney, D., 1993, p.3)

Given the overt feminist and anti-racist framework within which this research was conducted, the choice of appropriate method was in a sense determined by the subject for research. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used dependant on the source of the data available and the type of research conducted. Moreover, the use of 'multiple methods' (Rheinharz, 1992) or 'mixed methods' (Bullock, Little and Millham, 1992) has been seen as a more rigorous means of analysing data since such an approach allows for inconsistencies and contradictions between different sources of data to be highlighted. It is precisely those inconsistencies and contradictions which lie at the heart of this research.

³⁹ Acker, (1994) argues that 'research' is itself a social construction and that given the relationship between universities and agencies

3.6.1. *Examining the documents – investigating 'privileged knowledge' and quantitative and qualitative methods*

It is important here to reiterate the distinction I am drawing between 'privileged knowledge' and 'situated knowledge'. In terms of my research, 'privileged knowledge' can be defined as the political and ideological orthodoxy, which framed the educational reforms of the late 1980s and early 1990s as expressed through specific written policies or texts. For the purposes of my research, such orthodoxy is partly contained in the policy documents that followed the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools and the statistical documents that support such policies (most notably Section 42 latterly Section 122 statements⁴⁰). These documents represent the 'public face' of the inner London boroughs, the 'public expression' of the policy in practice. As Atkinson and Coffey (1995) argue, it is important to understand and examine these public documents as part of the social reality of any organisation:

...many organisations and settings have ways of representing themselves collectively to themselves and others. It is, therefore, imperative that our understanding of contemporary society...incorporate those processes and products of self-descriptions. (Atkinson and Coffey, 1995, p.45)

Such documents are the policy expressions of the 'privileged knowledge' of the existing power structures of (to take Ball's 1997a point) English society. The purpose of the research is to examine this 'privileged knowledge' from the standpoint of a situated knower (the researcher) and to highlight

funding research and the emphasis on practice orientated research, many feminists find less and less room for producing overtly feminist research.

⁴⁰ Section 42 of the 1988 Education Act (replaced by the consolidation Act of 1994 as Section 122) prescribed the format and timing for local education authority financial information about spending on schools. It includes, for example, each schools individual budget and how that budget was calculated as well as the overall level of delegation and the amounts held centrally by the LEA

the way in which it too is situated and historically constructed. This distinction is key since it also determines the methodological approaches taken to the two main sources of data: policy documents and interviews.

This research examined a number of different sources of policy documentation and evidence. These documents represented the policy in itself. In some senses then, they represented a written form of the 'privileged knowledge' referred to earlier. That is they contain sets of assumptions, ideological frameworks and ways of viewing the world which are seen to be, in this context, the expression of a particular government with a particular agenda. In terms of the 'what' of what is policy, these documents represent the policy itself and the framework within which the policy is to be applied. Since this research is concerned both with the policy *per se* and with the understandings and meanings attributed to that policy, it is important to examine the form in which the policy is presented as well as the internal content of the policy.

*The initial task is to pay close attention to the question of **how** documents are constructed as distinctive kinds of products. It is, therefore, appropriate to pay close attention to the textual organization of documents. (Atkinson and Coffey, 1995, p. 49, emphasis in original)*

In terms of the specific abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools, the 'policy' takes a number of different written forms.

Hence the main policy documents, which provided the focus for the research, were:

- ✓ Education Development Plans - these formed the basis of the structures and policy of each of the local education authorities that were established as a result of the abolition of ILEA
- ✓ Local management of schools schemes - these documents gave details of each authorities approach to LMS and formula funding within their borough
- ✓ Section 42/Section 122 statements – these documents represent the public statement of a local education authority's spending on its schools.

However, in order to locate the documents, to establish the framework within which they existed, a range of supplementary documents were examined. These documents were the circulars and guidance given by the central government department responsible for education, LEA's own policy documents and guidance, and the educational legislation of the 1988 Education Reform Act and subsequent Acts.

This placing of the documents for analysis within a wider set of documents was critical to understanding the shape, form and content of the documents. These documents were not written in a vacuum but as a specific response to a specific policy framework:

It is important to recognize that, like any system of signs and messages, documents make sense because they have relationships with other documents.

(Atkinson and Coffey, 1995, p.56)

For the first two sets of documents (Education Development Plans and Local Management of Schools schemes), a content analysis approach was adopted in order to analyse the documents. In the case of the Education Development Plans, the purpose was to examine whether there were any links between the approaches adopted by ILEA and the approaches adopted by the new inner London authorities. In the case of the local management schemes, the purpose was to examine the rationale behind the structure put in place to implement local management. In the case of both of these documents a particular purpose was to focus on the area of 'equal opportunities' due to the specific approach the ILEA had taken to that area⁴¹.

For the Section 42/Section 122 statements, the purpose was twofold; firstly to examine spending on inner London's schools before and after the abolition of the Inner London Authority and to compare spending across the inner London boroughs and secondly to examine the financial construction and financial comparisons of the Age-Weighted Pupil Unit⁴². Hence the approach taken was a simple statistical one rather than a content analysis whereby statements were collected from as many inner London LEAs as possible and analysed according to various variables, such as the level of delegation, the value of the AWPU and the amounts centrally held by the authority (See Appendix 1).

⁴¹ see Appendix 5 and 6 for analysis sheets for schemes and development plans.

⁴² Age Weighted Pupil Units are the per capita units of funding used to allocate resources to schools under the policy of local management of schools. Each pupil attracts a specific unit of funding which has been weighted according to age. In local management schemes, seven year olds are weighted at the value of one, with all other age groups weighted higher or lower according to the funding being delivered.

The textual documents were analysed through using content analysis. This is particularly important since the policy under investigation was expressed through its written form. For example, both the Educational Development Plans and the Schemes for Local Management of Schools were subject to Secretary of State approval. This is important to understand given the postmodernist critique of texts and the argument that this approach of codifying and counting texts is no more than a defunct modernist method:

The researcher uses the dead, decontextualised monads of meaning, the tightly boundaried containers, the numbering objectifications, to construct generalizations which are, in the modernist dream, used to predict, control and reform educational practice. (Scheurich, J. J., 1997, p.63)

Whilst accepting that the content analysis method which takes words out of their context can undermine the integrity of the text, the policy documents involved in this research could only be understood through such an approach. Local education authorities were given specific frameworks for developing these texts (in the case of local management schemes the format and content was prescribed through circulars and guidelines from the central government department dealing with education)⁴³, so it would appear naïve not to assume that such texts have an objective reality which can be understood through the process of quantification and coding. Moreover, the texts themselves assume a shared consensus between the documents and the recipients of the documents. In essence, they assume, and I as a researcher have assumed that we share the

⁴³ As stated earlier, although not the specific focus of the analysis, further data was drawn from circulars from the central government department responsible for education and from legislation such as the Education Reform Act 1988, and subsequent Education Acts.

same policy language and in a sense that the shared language of policy represents its own literary 'genre' (Atkinson and Coffey, 1995, p.49).

The way documents were analysed was dependent on the form and content of the particular text. Education development plans and local management of schools schemes were collected from each of the twelve inner London boroughs and the City of London⁴⁴. These were then analysed in accordance with various predetermined categories in order to assist comparison across the boroughs (Weber, 1990, Fielding and Lee, 1998). The basic unit for analysis was taken to be a particular theme which in this case could be a sentence, a couple of sentences or a whole paragraph depending on the sense of the text and the category under which it could be grouped. The categories were selected by the focus of the research and the interest of the researcher, particularly in terms of the connections between the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools. These categories were not mutually exclusive but allowed for themes to be coded in under a range of categories depending on the nature of text (Weber, 1990).

The use of policy documents as texts raises a number of issues in terms of the categories used by the researcher to develop the analysis. Not only are the 'audiences' for different texts different, the areas of concern and the terminology used are often specific to the text itself (Atkinson and Coffey, 1995). For example, a local management of school scheme is intended to outline the implementation of the scheme and is geared towards acquiring the approval of the secretary of

⁴⁴ The City of London has a different form of government based on the system of Aldermen.

state and local councillors. Its' focus is not issues of 'equal opportunities' or public relations. In that sense different documents and texts tell us more about the policy process and the way in which documents are written for audiences as well as the intention or interpretation given that policy at a local level. The purpose of the research was to highlight these issues and the contradictions and complexities between the policy in words and the policy in action.

3.6.2. Who's researching who – situated knowledge and the use of qualitative methods

The main distinction is between those types of research where language is considered a means of communication, and those where language is viewed as a manifestation of the culture it serves as a communication instrument. (Tesch, 1990, p.60)

Tesch's (1990) assertion of the two main forms of content analysis highlight the distinction I have made in terms of 'situated knowledge' and 'privileged knowledge' and the two main sources of data or evidence for this research. 'Language as a means of communication' is a description not only of an approach to content analysis and a specific view of language, but is also a description of the way 'situated knowledge' is viewed. 'Language as a manifestation of culture' is, to extend the analogy, the production of 'privileged knowledge'. To put it starkly, in terms of my own research, interviews represent a means of communication whereas policy documents represent a manifestation of culture (in this case a specific ideological and political culture).

To develop this distinction, I want to now examine the second element of my research that of interviews with a range of people involved in the process of implementing the policies of the abolition of ILEA and the introduction of local management of schools.

As seen above, there has developed an element of feminist orthodoxy in research methods which have tended to argue against feminists have often argue that qualitative research, particularly in the form of interviews, is an approach which is more 'suited' to feminist research than other methods

In terms of my own research, there was a need to understand the policy process not from the policy makers themselves⁴⁵ but from the recipients of policy, the headteachers, governors, school administrative staff and local government officers who, whilst having a role in policy implementation, could not change policy themselves. This qualitative approach of interviewing as distinct from choosing a quantitative method such as questionnaires, enabled a more detailed and context rich form of data and allowed the 'people' into research (Ball, 1997b). This 'peopling' of research has its roots both in feminist and anti-racist research and the development of a critical approach to educational policy:

Educational research must abandon pretensions to be a recontextualised form of natural science by recognizing that it is pre-eminently a humane study with a humane intent. (Grace, 1998, p.202)

⁴⁵ For an example of such work see Kogan, 1994

One of the issues raised by Ball (1997a) in his discussion of the role of education policy research is the importance of research techniques as mechanisms for 'putting the people back' into policy initiatives and allow for an understanding of human action in the policy arena. Although it can be said that policy exists as paper (that is it is contained in written documents such as circulars, legislation, guidance), it is people who interpret, negotiate and in the last instance implement policy. Their understanding, their own opinions, views and beliefs can influence the way a particular policy is implemented and the effects of that policy. In that sense, the interviewees who were local government officers were in a contradictory position of both contributing to 'privileged knowledge' through the written documents they produced and participants in 'situated knowledge' in the area of their own views and opinions and understandings of the context and implementation of those policies. In order to understand the process, by which policy is turned into action, this research used interviews to examine the development of local management and the specific meanings and interpretations attached to this specific policy initiative by various groups of people.

In terms of my own research, the 'people' who formed the group of interviewees were four different sets of people, all of whom had a distinct role to play in the implementation of local management of schools in inner London. Local authority local government officers were interviewed to give an understanding of the role of development of policy at a borough level and the way the social and political circumstances of each locality effected the development and introduction of local management itself. Headteachers were interviewed to give an understanding of some of the issues and tensions of implementing a nationally defined and determined political initiative within the micro unit of the school. School administrative staff (commonly called school secretaries) were interviewed to highlight some of the issues around financial management, gender and the changing role of the school. Lastly, governors were interviewed in their central role as overseers and

stakeholders in this specific policy and as the group who, in many ways, have faced the greatest change in their role as a result of local management⁴⁶.

All the interviewees were selected through a process of networking and thus represent an opportunistic sample. The local authority officers were known through the day to day work environment of the researcher. Some of the headteachers were also known as work colleagues and others were contacted via personal associations. The school administrative staff were selected through the headteachers own contacts. In the case of the school administrative staff this presented particular difficulties, of the four school administrative officer which it was intended should be part of the interview sample: two refused to be interviewed and of the remaining two one refused to be tape recorded. This raises particular issues about the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the researched and notions of power between the researcher and the researched. However, it may be pertinent to bear in mind that school administrative officers are in a specific line management relationship with the headteacher in the school and, in this case, known to the interviewer in a professional capacity, thus not giving them the authority to 'give their voice' in a way that others being interviewed could. Given that the data from this set of interviewees presented these particular issues, the analysis does not take into account the data from interviews with the School Administrative Officers.

Since the interviewees were mainly selected through personal contact, there is a danger of them being in a sense 'self-selecting' and therefore likely to have a similar background to each other and

⁴⁶ In terms of the shared language of the literary genre of education policy, as is shown later in the thesis, there were different sets of shared assumptions and different sets of language used.

to the researcher. This is key, given the inability of the researcher to collect any interview data from the two Conservative controlled local education authorities of Wandsworth and Westminster. In both cases, the local government officer concerned was unhappy about supplying data in the form of a taped interview. However, in a sense it is likely that the interviewees are typical since they represent a specific geographical and political area that of inner London. Following the abolition of the Labour controlled Inner London Education Authority, the twelve inner London local education authorities (excluding the City of London) which were established were predominantly also Labour controlled. The two boroughs of Westminster and Wandsworth represented the only Conservative controlled authorities out of that twelve.

Of the thirteen inner London local education authorities, interviews were conducted with five of the local government officers responsible for the design, development and implementation of their borough's local management of schools scheme⁴⁷. These five interviewees represented a cross section of inner London - from different geographical parts of London and different political and demographical contexts. Of the five local government officers who were interviewed, three were women, two were men, and all of them were white. It is also of note that four out of the five were officers in Labour controlled authorities, one in a Liberal Democrat authority. As stated above, neither officer from two Conservative controlled authorities agreed to be interviewed. Despite the absence of qualitative interview data from these two boroughs, quantitative data in the form of policy documents and other material was collected from these two boroughs and is used as part of the analysis in this thesis.

⁴⁷ Given the particular circumstances of the City of London which is responsible for only one school, the City of London was not included as part of the research.

Of the headteachers interviewed, three were women, one was a man and all were white. The headteachers came from a cross section of voluntary aided and county primary and secondary schools. All the headteachers were in Labour controlled authorities. The school administrative staff were all women and all white - again, they were in Labour controlled authorities.

Three interviews were conducted with governors. Two of these were white women, the other a Black man who was also a councillor. The governors represented three different inner London boroughs and were all governors at county schools. One of the governors was on the governing body of a secondary school, whilst the other two were governors at primary schools. One was an LEA appointed governor, one a parent governor and the other a teacher governor.

Although there may be an argument that the sample of interviewees is skewed towards those from Labour authorities, it is likely that this group is more representative of inner city areas and inner London in particular than a sample which seeks to include an even representation of Labour and Conservative boroughs. At the time of the study, in the ex-ILEA area, only two of the twelve boroughs (excluding the City of London) were Conservative controlled and of the remaining boroughs only one was Liberal Democrat in its political control⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ The political control of the borough reverted to Labour during the council elections in 1994

The choice of the interview as an appropriate method for research has been much discussed (cf.. Cohen and Manion, 1989, Bracewell, 1990, Rheinharz, 1992, Mason, 1996). My interviews were conducted through a semi-structured approach based on a prompt sheet. The semi-structured interview gave the opportunity for the interviewer to gain access to thoughts, ideas and opinions of the interviewee but allowed for specific areas to be covered. The interviews were open-ended in the sense that interviewees were free to give answers which may have tackled a number of different areas of the prompt sheet. The purpose of the interviews was to collect data which could be compared and contrasted with the contextual and statistical data derived from the policy documents in a attempt to produce some form of 'triangulation' (Rheinharz, 1992). The use of open ended interviews allowed for a wide and rich set of data to be collected and offer access to peoples thought, ideas and opinions (Rheinharz, 1992). This was important given the relationship between the researcher and the researched and allowed for a dialogue using a shared language to discuss the reasons for the policies and their effects and gave shape to an interview which was permitted the researcher and the researched to reflect on developments in educational policy.

. Scholarship should resist the power differentials and exclusions implied in the researcher-respondent model of enquiry. (Grace, 1998, p.206)

All the interviews were conducted in a similar way. Each interview used a schedule or prompt sheet to cover the same areas (See Appendix 2 for example of prompt sheet). Interviewees could see the questions/prompts if they requested, but interviewees were not given the opportunity to change the focus of the interviews.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The relationship between the researcher and the researched is debated more fully later in this section.

All except one of the interviews were recorded and later transcribed. One interviewee requested not to be taped, and thus notes were made throughout the interview, which were immediately written up following the interview. In all cases interviews were conducted at a time and in the environment chosen by the interviewee. In some cases, particularly where the interviews were school-based this caused problems of interruptions and background noise, making the interviews themselves difficult to transcribe.

Each interview was transcribed in full (Tesch, 1990). Both the questions asked and the answers given were recorded as were any 'um's', 'er's' and grammatical errors. The names of the authorities and in the case of governors, headteachers and administrative staff the schools were changed for the purposes of analysis.

The first step in the analysis of the interviews was to re-categorise the responses according to a set of wide categories. These categories were developed by analysing the main themes referred to consistently throughout each of the interviews. The categories were developed from all the interviews with sub categories relating to the specific nature of the interview. For example, interviews with headteachers would often refer to the specific situation pertaining in their respective schools, such information would, obviously, not be part of the interviews with local government officers. However, local government officers would also tend to refer to the specific circumstances of their respective boroughs. (see Appendix 3). This, of course, raises issues about the subjective quality of the data.

The references to a particular category were found through the use of a computerised 'find' facility, which allowed each of the transcriptions to be searched to find specific words and phrases and to act as a 'text retriever' (Tesch, 1990, p.181). The approach adopted was to:

Extract(ing) words from a text together with the sentences or paragraphs in which each occurs. (Tesch, 1990, p.193)

In contrast with the content analysis used for the policy documents, the unit for the purpose of searching and collating the data was the individual word (Weber, 1990). Given the shared language of policy (the 'genre' of policy) which was taken as a given for the purposes of the research, the words used to search and collate the data were policy specific and included phrases such as 'local management of schools' and 'Inner London Education Authority'. Each transcription was reread following the categorisation to ensure that no relevant data had been omitted.

These broad categories were then refocused to look at smaller specific areas. This was achieved through manually reading each set of analyses and a further computerised search for text (Tesch, 1990, Fielding and Lee, 1998). This allowed more detailed responses and specific nuances and emphases to be highlighted as well as looking for similarities and differences across groups (see Appendix 4).

3.7. Examining privileged knowledge from the view of the situated – the analytical approach within the case study

The three sets of data, content analysis of documents, statistical analysis of financial statements and analyses of interviewee text, were used to examine and explore the central questions for the research, that is:

- Why was the Inner London Education Authority abolished?
- What were the effects of that abolition?
- Why was local management of schools introduced?
- What specific effects did LMS have on the structure of education in Inner London?

The data from all three sources was used to shed light on these questions both from the specific position of the interviewee and in terms of the policy documentation. For example, headteachers responses were analysed for their similarities and differences both to each other, to other groups of interviewees (such as local government officers) and in terms of the documentation itself. The aim being to contrast 'privileged knowledge' with 'situated knowledge'; to highlight the complexities, contradictions and inconsistencies between the policy in it's written form and the policy in practice.

As stated earlier, within this research there is a concentration of researching those with 'less power', rather than the 'powerful' or the 'powerless' (cf. Walford, 1994) in the sense that all of the interviewees were involved in the implementation of the policies of the abolition of ILEA and the

introduction of local management of schools, although they were not the originators of either policy. This placed them in a contradictory and complex position when it comes to understanding their own views on education policy. It is these contradictions and complexities which are key to the analysis in this research. Moreover, as this thesis seeks to show these contradictions and complexities are not merely limited to individual interviewees, but are part of the policy world, part of the way policy is shaped, part of the way policy is implemented and, perhaps most crucially, part of policy's effects.

3.8. Conclusion

The thesis is centrally concerned with the introduction and implementation of two key policies of the last Conservative Government, the abolition of the Inner London Education and the introduction of local management of schools in the new inner London education authorities. It seeks to examine the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools precisely in terms of the ideological framework which shaped these policies which was itself cast within a specific conceptual paradigm resting on assumptions about the nature of society and the dynamics of class, 'race' and gender within it.

The two strands of this thesis, that of the abolition of ILEA and the introduction of LMS, do not 'jump out' as areas of concern to feminists. Yet, without an understanding of the role and impact of these policies we are unlikely to fully understand the forces which have shaped the structure and role of schooling in inner London.

I have sought to argue that the purpose of this research is to illuminate these policy developments through the use of a case study of inner London. The purpose of using such an approach is to be able to use a range of methods to develop and contribute to general theories of education policy research.

The subject matter and focus for the research was chosen due to a personal and political commitment to education in inner London and the importance of anti-racism and feminism and social justice within education.

This research into the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction and implementation of local management of schools in the inner London boroughs, draws on a number of different research techniques. These techniques were informed by debates about education policy research as highlighted in the literature review, but also were shaped by the specific personal circumstances that I, as the researcher, found myself in⁵⁰. As a local government officer in two London local education authorities, I had access to a wide range of information and people, some of which would not have been available, if I had been an 'external researcher'. This placed me in a contradictory and complex situation of researching into a national government policy which it was my role to implement.

⁵⁰ There is future discussion about the issues surrounding the personal situation of researchers later in this section.

The research approach adopted was one, which sought to build on this wide range and different forms of data through the use of a case study. This approach also examined data, which was constructed within a particular level. It dealt with the school as a context through the use of interviews with headteachers and school administrative officers; it dealt with local education authorities through interviews with local government officers and analyses of textual data. The research, then, falls into the category of highlighting a '*policy trajectory*' (Ball, 1997a, p.266) by virtue of seeking to examine a number of different levels through the use of different research techniques.

The purpose of the research is to examine the construction and development of privileged knowledge through the use of situated knowledge in the sense that the purpose is to examine highlight and illuminate the inconsistencies, contradictions and disparities between the privileged view and situated view. The research does not claim, therefore, to be 'objective' in the positivist sense of the word, nor does it claim neutrality. It is overt in terms of the subject chosen, the methods adopted and the analytical and theoretical position of the researcher. However, it does make a small claim for being able to understand the messy world that is the reality of education policy and some of the changes in schooling brought about by the Education Reform Act and by that process of understanding change, to influence and change the future.

4. Restructuring the Welfare State - the Case of the Abolition of the Inner London Education Authority⁵¹

All talented people who have come out of London speak of the capital service with nostalgia. It is as though a film crosses their eyes as they recall a time of formative influence which was one of the pinnacles of their professional career.

(Brighouse 1992, pp.52-53)

4.1. Introduction

Sections 2 and 3 sought to raise some of the wider issues surrounding researching educational policy and the key methodological issues which have influenced the development of this research. In particular, they focussed on the specific inner London context in terms of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the way in which this provides the framework for the research. This section will begin to examine the data collected through the research process and will seek to analyse the data in terms of the key issues raised by the previous sections. Its primary purpose, therefore, is to analyse the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority on the basis of the data collected from interviews and documentary source in order to address the research questions given in section 3 and to locate that analysis within a broader context of the changes in the welfare state and local government.

⁵¹ An article examining the literature and the development plans of the inner London boroughs was published under the same title in 1991 (cf. Reynolds, 1991).

The section therefore draws on the results of two sets of research data; the first is developed from the analysis of a series of interviews conducted with headteachers, local government officers, and governors in the early 1990s. Hence, the focus was to examine the feelings and perceptions about the abolition itself, the way interviewees developed and contextualised the reasons for the abolition and to examine the judgements made by the interviewees on the effect the abolition of the ILEA had on their schools and their lives.

The second set of data specifically focuses on the interface or relationship between the ILEA and its policies and the policies of the new London local education authorities. Here the aim is both to examine the role ILEA's own policies had in shaping education of the inner London local education authorities which replaced ILEA and to raise the similarities and differences between policy approaches of ILEA and these Authorities. The section does this through a specific focus on the most controversial of ILEA policy initiatives that of 'equal opportunities' using the textual analysis referred to in section 3 to examine the Education Development Plans of the new authorities which provided the framework for the replacement of the Inner London Education Authority.

This section has three main parts: the first examines some of arguments concerning the changes in the structure of the welfare state and specifically the rise of 'new managerialism'; the second seeks to place the rationale for the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority in the context of the arguments put forward in section 2 by examining the analysis of the interviews with local government officers, governors and headteachers. It highlights the similarities and dissimilarities in terms of the responses of different groups of interviewees and focuses on some of the wider discussions about the relationships between local and central government and the role of the local

education authority which still provide a cornerstone for much central government policy⁵². In addition, it will examine the way in which the interviewees located the abolition of ILEA within the wider context of the Education Reform Act 1988 and the way in which the abolition was seen as part of the same jigsaw for 'reforming' education both locally and nationally.

The last element examines the Education Development Plans which provided the structure for the new local education authorities which replaced ILEA. This draws on the textual analysis of the development plans which provided the blueprint for the establishment of the new inner London education authorities.⁵³ Here the focus will be to examine the approach taken by a sample of the new LEA's to 'equal opportunities' and contrast this with the approach taken by ILEA. The section draws out the first stages of the effects of ILEA's abolition and points to some of the key issues which have changed the development of equal opportunities in inner London.

4.2. Obstacles in changing the inner London education system – managerialism and the public sector

Section 2 sought to draw together strands from contemporary education policy and other research to highlight the need to understand the complex nature of developments in schooling and the impact of policy initiatives of mid to late 1980s in transforming the context of education in inner London. In particular, it sought to develop a model of analysis which could both do justice to wider

⁵² Sections 5 and 6 and the postscript deal with some of the issues in the ongoing debate about the role of the local education authority and its relationship with schools and central government.

structural analyses (such as Power, 1992) and take into account the need to find a place for the complexities and contradictions of policy within a local and national context (Ball, 1997a). The analysis put forward in this and subsequent sections, aims to flesh the bones of this model and to emphasise the messiness of the social world into which policy measures are inserted. In particular, it seeks to use the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools in inner London as a mechanism for understanding the formation of policy and its outcomes.

Within such an analysis, it is important to understand the social transformation of the welfare state that has taken place since the early 1980s and the impact this has had not only in terms of structures and frameworks but also in terms of the day to day realities of working in education in inner London. Moreover, it is also important to understand that the changes which have so transformed the educational landscape are not isolated to education but are part of a wider shift in the way the state and central government have refocused the structure and the role of welfare and public services.

Clarke and Newman (1997) argue that this transformation in the provision and delivery of public services as part of the welfare state reflects changes in the state and the relationships between national and local government. This, they argue, is not only in terms of the structures that have been created and the shifts towards greater private sector involvement in the arena of welfare, but

⁵³ This section only deals with documentation which established the new inner London education authorities. Obviously, since their establishment in 1990, different authorities have developed and altered their policies on equal opportunities in relation to the changing political circumstances.

also in terms of the forms of management which determine the delivery of services in the welfare state. For Clarke and Newman (op.cit.), this shift has introduced new ways of working, new ways of managing whilst, at the same time, the state increasingly centralises control over the welfare state. Thus there is a façade of autonomy, of 'freedom of the market', of private sector ways of working which masks the continuing control of central government.

*This is not just a matter of new organisational forms or approaches to welfare delivery. These changes have rearranged the forms and relations of power that order social welfare. Most strikingly, the devolution of responsibility to semi-autonomous organisations has created the 'freedom to manage' at an organisational level, subject to the increasingly centralised control of policy, resources and evaluation. This has two important political implications in that it allows central government to adopt two roles in relation to the provision of services. First, it represents the public by performing evaluation, an 'honest broker' role in collecting and disseminating information about comparative performance among service providing organisations. Second, it is able to separate itself from delivery by insisting that this is a matter for '**local management**'. (Clarke and Newman, 1997, p.81, my emphasis)⁵⁴*

Clarke and Newan (op. cit.) argue that the move toward different forms of managerialism and the creation of a 'managerial state' is an attempt both structural and ideological to move away from a local or national delivery of a service through state employed public sector workers to a more

⁵⁴ The issues of the relationships between local education authorities and schools and the impact on the way schools are managed is discussed more fully in sections 5 and 6.

decentralised and semi autonomous form of service delivery through outsourcing, compulsory competitive tendering, quangos and forms of local management (in its widest sense). This is partly due to a perceived financial crisis within the welfare state, partly a response to perceived unresponsiveness and bureaucracy within the welfare state and partly an attempt to tackle 'welfare dependency' in the pursuit of active citizens (Ham and Hill, 1990, Cochrane, 1993, amongst others).

My contention is that in the case of inner London and its education system, the 'obstacle' in the way of transforming the welfare state in general and the specific case of schooling was the existence of an alternative local government structure which had the potential to be a source of power, resistance and an alternative educational and political philosophy - the Inner London Education Authority.

4.3. It was all political! – Views on the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority

Dale's (1994) assertion referred to at the beginning of section 2 of this thesis, highlights the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority as the most significant, yet most under-researched, example of the changes between the local and national relationships in education that were introduced by the 1988 Education Reform Act. For Dale (1994) the abolition is representative of the wider transfer of power away from local government to national government which constituted the reforms of the late 1980s. This significant act (the abolition of the only directly elected education committee in the country) has not provided the framework for academic research and there is very little research that seeks to systematically analyse both the rationale for the abolition

and the results of the abolition⁵⁵. Neither is there any research which examines the structural, sociological, and political implications of the abolition.

In contrast to the limited academic research in this area, the responses from the interviews for this thesis showed a sophisticated and complex understanding both of the party politics which shaped local and central government relations and wider changes in the role of local education authorities. In particular, interviewees were keen to place the abolition of ILEA within the wider context of the measures introduced by the Education Reform Act 1988 and the future role of local education authorities.

In addition, interviewees were keen to place the abolition within the framework of the party political 'battles' that were a part of the national and local circumstances of the mid to late 1980s. In particular, the view that the prime motive for ILEA's abolition was party political was common across all groups of interviewees regardless of the political control of their borough. Indeed, all the interviewees referred to the political complexion and control of the Inner London Education Authority in contrast with the ruling government of Westminster and saw this as the prime motive behind abolition. For all interviewees, the Inner London Education Authority represented a political power base in opposition to the contemporary political framework of the Thatcher government. The examples below highlight this unanimity of approach to the reasons behind the abolition:

⁵⁵ In terms of research analysing the effects of the abolition the only example available is the work of Pennell, West and Nuttall (1992)

Two words. Tory plot. There's no doubt in my mind that it wasn't about improving education for the children in London, it was to destroy the Labour power bases. They had destroyed the GLC full stop. (Officer 2)

Oh, it was political, wasn't it? It was a big Labour authority and the Government didn't like it – they saw things they disapproved of, they probably thought it was wasting money and they sought to get rid of it. (Governor 1)

I think it was political! (laughs loudly!) Completely and utterly political I really think that ILEA was too strong a force. There was too much power coming from county hall um and I think it's very much the same as the GLC I think it's driven by the same thing. (Headteacher 3)

However, the local government officers interviewed drew attention to the complexities of the political forces at work and the critical role of local politics in shaping the demise of the Inner London Education Authority. Here there was a contrast between those officers in borough's who had been opposed to abolition and those who had positions in authorities where the political control was keen to 'take over' education with the latter raising the issue of an 'alliance' between some local Labour councils and the London wide bodies of the Labour Party. In these circumstances, the ILEA was seen as a power base which by definition, was not open to the leaders of inner London councils:

But also people like Margaret Hodge⁵⁶ and Tessa Blackstone⁵⁷ and a whole range of people saw ILEA as a power base, as it was, which they couldn't get into, and the only way they could have power was by ILEA being abolished. People like Jack Straw⁵⁸ - if you wanted a spokesperson on education you turned to Frances Morrell⁵⁹ you didn't turn to Jack Straw because he had nothing to say, whereas Frances usually had something very useful and insightful to say. So it was the power of breaking up the Labour Authority both from Westminster but also from within the Labour Party. It was an unholy alliance. (Officer 3)

This point of collusion between individual Labour council leaders and national Conservative government in terms of the abolition of ILEA, was highlighted by this officer in terms of the work already conducted by Islington Council before abolition took place. When questioned further about the role of some Labour Councils in terms of supporting abolition, the officer stated:

Yes, no doubt about it, because their budget – 40% of Islington's budget is on education – more power to the boroughs, so they would have, of course, colluded with it. Margaret Hodge was planning to take over education before

⁵⁶ Margaret Hodge was Leader of the Labour controlled Islington Council from 1982 to 1992. In 1998 Margaret Hodge MP was appointed as Parliamentary Under Secretary in the Department for Education and Employment.

⁵⁷ Tessa Blackstone was created a life peer in 1987 and was Labour's House of Lords spokesperson on education. Baroness Blackstone had previously been Clerk and Director of Education at the Inner London Education Authority from 1983-1987.

⁵⁸ Jack Straw MP was Principal Opposition Spokesman on Education from 1987 to 1992 and had previously been Deputy Leader of the Inner London Education Authority from 1973 to 1974.

⁵⁹ Frances Morrell was the penultimate leader of the Inner London Education Authority until 1987 when she was replaced by Neil Fletcher who was leader until its abolition.

Heseltine⁶⁰ and Tebbit⁶¹ made that announcement on that fateful Tuesday in February. She had already got Anne Page working on it. (Officer 3)

However, this appeared to be the view from one specific local government officer in a particular borough, for other officers when asked about the role of inner London Labour councils in the abolition were not so candid:

I think that some of them liked the idea of actually taking over education themselves, I think that is true, but I don't think that was the view of the majority of boroughs. I think there was one that I am aware of that seemed to be keen for some reason but I think most people were very concerned because they realised the timescale was going to be enormous and setting up an education department from scratch is a ridiculous amount of work and effort...I think some of the boroughs that thought it might be OK were in the false hope that they'd got their budget in order and that they weren't facing massive cuts that some inner London boroughs had to do, and I think they were wrong in that assessment.
(Officer 1)

However, in terms of other driving forces for the abolition of ILEA, interviewees (local government officers, headteachers and governors) saw a number of different forces at work (including the

⁶⁰ Micheal Heseltine was

⁶¹ Norman Tebbit MP was the Chairman of the Conservative Party and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1985 to 1987. Norman Tebbit was a monetarist and a Thatcherite and was seen as the right wing of the Conservative party's successor to Margaret Thatcher.

internal dynamics of the ILEA itself) which gave the ILEA the seeds of its own destruction. It is to each of these that I now want to turn.

4.4. ILEA as a waste of resources

The notion that ILEA was an expensive bureaucracy (Minhas and Weiner, 1991) was critical in the political rhetoric surrounding ILEA's abolition and the wider moves to restructure the welfare state and reduce the cost of local government (Pennell, West, Nuttall, 1992, Cochrane, 1993). Despite the high profile of ILEA's policies on anti-racism and anti-sexism, it was this element that interviewees highlighted as one of the key aspects behind ILEA's demise. The argument about the 'extravagant' level of spending by the ILEA is confused by levels of 'cuts' in local government expenditure. There is no systematic research on the actual effects of ILEA's abolition in terms of the reduction of expenditure on education in inner London. In particular the other changes contained in the 1988 and subsequent Acts have altered the structure and funding of education in such a way that it is difficult to provide comparisons between the 1988 and post 1988 expenditure levels at a local borough level. For Minhas and Weiner, 1991, the extent of the reduction in local government expenditure undermines any argument about profligate authorities:

Local government expenditure has fallen in real terms over the past decade; in 1980 it was 8.5% of Gross Domestic Product and in 1989 7.2%.... We would argue that far from a policy of devolution, the Government policy has been one of eroding local democracy and centralizing control. The extent of cuts in local government are national and can no longer be explained in terms of 'irresponsible high spending local authorities'. (Minhas and Weiner, 1991, p. 151)

In terms of the response from interviewees the issue of cost and wastage was a particular issue for local government officers. In their case, the argument was twofold; firstly that the abolition of ILEA would mean that central government could direct more funds to Conservative controlled authorities following ILEA's abolition and thus put an end to ILEA's role in redistributing resources and secondly, that there was an element of wastage in the bureaucracy of ILEA that could be dealt with by a move to small, borough units.

Pennell, West, and Nuttall (1992) argue that the role of ILEA as a distribution mechanism gave the authority the ability to meet the needs of most deprived children in the country (London Research Centre, 1996). In examining the changes as a result of ILEA's abolition they highlight the centrality of the redistribution role in ILEA's approach to spending on education:

The ILEA raised a higher proportion of its budget from the richest boroughs but spent more per capita in the poorer ones.... The City of London, and the two richest boroughs were responsible for over 60 per cent of ILEA's income and in the case of the boroughs with the most deprived school populations, the City and these two boroughs provided up to 80 per cent of educational revenue. (Pennell, West, Nuttall, 1992, p.9)

Pennell, West and Nuttall's (1992) proposition is mirrored in the responses from interviewees and their concern about the cuts in expenditure that followed ILEA's abolition⁶². However, it was only local government officers who specifically referred to the redistributive element of ILEA rather than headteachers or governors. Given the employment of these officers, it is likely that they would be more familiar with the funding issues surrounding ILEA and some of the wider issues connected with its abolition.

In terms, then, of the argument about funding from government, local government officers were clear in seeing the abolition as a way of diverting funds away from poorer authorities to richer authorities and that this was a part of transferring resources from Labour controlled authorities to Conservative ones:

.... By breaking it (ILEA) up into small pieces it diversified critical control and it was a way of reducing expenditure on education throughout inner London without being so obvious about it because by the way in which grant is assessed with the some authorities i.e. Conservative ones getting more than Labour ones.... But if you had one overall authority it would have been more obvious the Government was reducing money to that authority. (Officer 1)

⁶² Maclure (1990) points to the political strategy of the ILEA to continue throughout the 1980s to spend above the targets imposed by central government.

Here the ILEA is not merely a political obstacle to the Thatcher Government but it also represents a block in reducing public expenditure⁶³.

For another local government officer, there was a contrasting of the political imperative to abolish ILEA with the needs of inner London's children. In this explanation, abolition was not about improving efficiency or improving the educational opportunities offered, it was about a blatant attack against Labour controlled local government. Hence, the interviewee responded starkly in answer to the question 'why was the ILEA abolished?':

Two words Tory plot. There's no doubt in my mind that it wasn't about improving education for the children in London, it was to destroy the Labour power bases.

They had destroyed the GLC full stop. (Officer 2)

Another interviewee, a headteacher, pointed to the wider implications of the Education Reform Act in their response. For them, ILEA had too much 'political clout' and would therefore represent an obstacle to other policy initiatives in the Reform Act such as 'opting out'. Central government's rhetoric of decreasing bureaucracy and improving educational opportunities was a facade to mask the real objective of the wholesale abolition of local education authorities. Secondly, for them ILEA represented a 'family' whereby the Authority was cast as the benign 'parent' who would seek to protect and 'do the best' for its children. In contradiction to central government's ideological

⁶³ As stated earlier, the reduction of public expenditure was key to the project of the Thatcher Government (Cochrane, 1993)

construction of individual parents in individual nuclear families⁶⁴, ILEA is seen as a 'collective' parent, seeking to help, support, nourish, and encourage its 'children'.

It is much easier to get rid of LEAs without the ILEA. This is the intention to encourage schools to go GM so that central government have control. I cannot see any other reason to abolish such a wonderful organisation. The issue about costs is irrelevant - the ILEA was never audited so it wasn't about costs. ILEA was a caring institution, yes it was lavish as a 'fond parent' who would do anything for its children. It was a very sympathetic organisation, very helpful and approachable. I was weaned on ILEA so I was spoilt. (Headteacher 2)

In this response, then, it is not only the pupils who are cast as 'children'. There is a sense in which the interviewee sees herself and her school as part of the collective 'family' of what constituted the Inner London Education Authority.⁶⁵

The argument that the ILEA wasted money on bureaucracy was not seen as central by interviewees in the rationale for its abolition. Like the 'parent' spending money on their child, interviewees put forward the contention that inner London children and their schools deserved high levels of resourcing. Although it was accepted by some that ILEA did commit high levels of expenditure to education, this was felt by some to be desirable in its own right and by others as not

⁶⁴ This was clearly expressed through later Conservative education policy, in particular the White Paper: Choice and Diversity, 1992 referred to earlier.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of the role of parent and children and their ideological construction under the Conservative Government see David, 1993 and Bagley, 1996.

a sufficient reason for abolishing the authority. Neither was the argument about limiting the size of bureaucracy accepted by interviewees. One headteacher pointed to the wastage and duplication created by establishing mini inner London education authorities in the twelve boroughs and the City of London:

Although they said it would save money this was not the prime motive. The cost of abolition in terms of benefits to the school has been a small fortune. Now you've got lots of LEAs, which are just as bureaucratic, since you have to able to provide the service - instead of just one bureaucracy. (Headteacher 1)

Local government officers were generally more pragmatic than headteachers and school administrative staff about the issue of administrative excess and the idea of wastage inherent in the ILEA bureaucracy. Although they often agreed with headteachers that the overriding reason for ILEA's abolition was party political, they disagreed about the extent of bureaucratic waste and the need for limits on financial resources accepting that there may have been areas of the authority which could have been financially pruned.

There were areas of great inefficiency and there were substantial areas where it just didn't deliver and there were areas where it did deliver... So yes there's no question about it that it was inefficient that things could be more effectively done, that it was not utilising resources in the best way, but equally there are quite clearly benefits. (Officer 5)

There may be a number of reasons for this discrepancy in views. All of the local government officers interviewed had worked for ILEA prior to abolition and for many of them part of their current work involved bolstering the confidence of schools and headteachers and creating a climate of stability in the newly created local authorities. As officers concerned with the introduction of a major policy change, that is local management of schools, they were responsible for implementing changes with which they may not have agreed. As one officer highlighted when asked about the links between the abolition of ILEA and other changes:

I think that even if ILEA had survived a lot of the changes that are happening are a result of the act and then circulars and further legislation, statutory orders rather than necessarily just abolition. So I don't know I haven't really thought of it in context of just ILEA now I think where I'm looking at it from is that ILEA has now gone and we've been trying to put together a service in the boroughs and keep it going in some ways. Obviously enhance it but in some ways the pressures seems to be to keep it together. (Officer 1)

Given their new role within new authorities and their understanding of political processes, it is likely that these interviewees might take a more critical approach to some of the issues surrounding ILEA's abolition. Moreover, the financial situation surrounding the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority may have been clearer to those working as local government officers than those within schools. Putting aside for one moment whether or not ILEA was justified in its levels of spending.

For many years the authority had spent more than the official government targets allowed and had, accordingly, been penalised by the withdrawal of

government grants. Simply transferring the existing level of provision to the boroughs would have caused them great difficulties and would have forced them to 'overspend'. The government has (sic) therefore provided additional, transitional funding and a four-year period in which they have to bring spending down. (McVicar, in Savage and Robins (eds.), 1990, p.141)

For all the interviewees, the abolition of ILEA was, of course, inextricably intertwined with the other aspects of the Education Reform Act and the series of legislative and policy changes brought about during the mid to late 1980s. The importance of this wider context was in situating the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and in emphasising the role of abolition along with other reforms. In this quote, the construction of ILEA as a threat to central government's educational reforms is clearly articulated:

I think it would have been very difficult for ILEA to have implemented the changes which the Government is requiring, I don't think that ILEA had the kind of responsiveness, it had a kind of built in bureaucracy notwithstanding its district office structure, and my impression is not working in the schools area, that it would have been very very difficult to have implemented the changes, and ILEA probably would have been politically diametrically opposed to many of the changes and yet as we know the changes would have to have been implemented .I think its very difficult to separate the two things out. (Officer 5)

4.5. The ILEA 'person' - a different educational philosophy

For headteachers a key theme of their response to the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority was the role the Authority played in developing and supporting a specific educational philosophy which focused on the needs of the child. As highlighted earlier, this gave headteachers a sense of security, of being involved in a collective 'family' which looked after its members and was at stark contrast with the individualism of the market mechanisms being introduced under the Education Reform Act 1988. For one headteacher, there was within the Inner London Education Authority, an educational philosophy that (contrary to the image projected by the media), understood the needs of pupils within its schools and resourced them accordingly.

I think the two things were both in there and certainly with the money and the philosophy because the philosophy actually it was quite an expensive thing to implement really it was looking for fairly generous resourcing levels...and there is no doubt in my mind that there was wastage, I think the intentions were good and honourable but there were people who were very keen to say oh its these loony lefts or these loony educationalists or crazy teachers who've got these children and yet they're coming out illiterate and innumerate and all of those things. It was gross and very unjust sweeping statements which finally waved to the right people that they wouldn't have any more. (Headteacher 2)

This interviewee developed the concept of an 'ILEA person' who represented a specific educational and political philosophy. This 'person' represented a network of common interests with a shared educational viewpoint which valued and recognised the needs of inner-city children and the diversity of their lives. This links closely to the sense of solidarity which played a major role in the

commitment of teachers and other staff in inner London to the role of education and to the importance of teaching and learning⁶⁶:

To serve in London was to increase the likelihood for the beginning teacher of being in the company of others with a similar sense of commitment and intellectual curiosity: the latter was kept perpetually alive by easy access to the best network of general and specialist teachers' centres in the whole of the country. (Brighouse, 1992, p.51)

This attachment to ILEA mirrors the concept of the ILEA as a collective 'family'. There was from many interviewees (particularly headteachers) a sense in which the abolition was felt as a personal loss with the well-known support mechanism being replaced by a structure which was in many ways unclear.

In addition to the role of ILEA as a caring mechanism for support. For one interviewee, this attachment to the ILEA focused on not only the support provided by the authority, but the specific educational philosophy that centred on the child first and foremost in primary schools and the importance of sustaining that commitment for the sake of inner London children:

Oh I think an ILEA person was totally committed to er a very child centred philosophy and education, very aware of the development of children's learning,

⁶⁶ The prestigious status of ILEA meant that it was able to recruit and retain high calibre staff. Since its demise, the recruitment and retention of staff (particularly teaching staff) has caused problems for many inner London boroughs (cf. Pyke, 1990). This has also been the case nationally and has led to the recent initiatives by the Labour Government to increase the number of people entering the teaching profession.

very well informed on that front, with a very secure philosophy um I think it was a philosophy and not a dogma, and I mean this is really the sort of great debate that goes on now, I felt it was a philosophy and um there was a culture that supported those views really and you could be sure that when you spoke to other colleagues that there was a sort of common ground if you like and that was a good feeling. Also there was a total commitment to the interests, the special interests of inner London children and that rich and diverse population and you felt that people understood that and that it was important enough to be out there fighting for it. (Headteacher 2)

The role of ILEA as a network supporting and advising headteachers appears as an important element of interviewees perceptions of the authority. In particular, the familiarity of ILEA both in terms of its educational philosophy and its organisation meant that its abolition left headteachers with a sense of isolation and lack of support.

I felt more supported under ILEA, um and my reasons for that are, - now you have to be careful here, cause so much can be just be heart and not head driven - I think it was because I knew the workings of ILEA, I knew people that had been in positions for quite some time, and therefore I knew where to go. I'll be honest, I'm one of the people who doesn't actually phone (names authority) cause I don't even know who to ask for and that's however many years on. Because 1) they're forever changing 2) they often don't know the answers to what I want anyway and I think they're struggling, I mean I'm not saying that, I'm not blaming them in anyway, I think that they've got a difficult time as well, but er,

um I feel very much as if I'm standing on my own. But that's it I don't actually contact anybody whereas in ILEA you knew the networks, and you knew who to contact yeah and I also didn't feel that they were trying, that there was a hidden agenda. I felt that everybody was safe within their job and that they weren't actually trying to save their job or say the right thing politically or make sure that um something wrong wasn't said. (Headteacher 3)

4.6. The role of 'equal opportunities' and ILEA

The interviews with local government officers raised the key advantages that ILEA brought in terms of the flexibility that came with higher levels of education expenditure. Support could be targeted to specific groups in line with educational priorities rather than being driven by financial concerns. One officer specifically referred to the advantages that ILEA had in terms of its resources and its ability to target resources to specific areas meant that some equalities areas could receive the resources they deserved:

Well the advantages of the ILEA approach in terms of resourcing and I think the ability to recognise and the ability to actually prioritise particular areas of special needs and direct resources in those areas is definitely an advantage of a large authority what you can't get from a small authority such as this is to prioritise special needs without directly taking it away from people within a single authority and I think that is a great loss. (Officer 5)

The importance of ILEA's lead role in 'equal opportunities' was felt not only as policy and curriculum initiative influencing the lives of schools. For those who worked under the Inner London Education Authority, its commitment to equalities for employees had a valuable role. For one governor, this was one of the areas where abolition had led to a key detrimental effect. Here the interviewee contrasted the new approach of the educational market which defines clients and customers with the old regime of equal opportunities and 'kids'.

You know ILEA was exceptionally good on equal opportunities I think for employees as well as for, I suppose we should call them the clients now shouldn't we? - the kids. (Governor 1)

ILEA's ability to have access to resources was also seen as important in the 'equal opportunities' of employees. As well as having paper policies, ILEA was seen (whether rightly or wrongly) as pursuing equal opportunities for its workforce. This was particularly in the area of special educational needs which was another key concern for headteachers and local government officers alike. The introduction of the educational marketplace, driven by funding following pupils under local management of schools, coupled with reductions in expenditure and the abolition of the ILEA were likely to take their toll on those children seen as the most vulnerable - that is children with special educational needs. Both a headteacher and a local government officer saw this as a key equal opportunities issue.

My fear is that the children who will be most disadvantaged by that will be the children with special needs but if your looking at schools' attractiveness to parents and er all of those issues like how much it costs to educate a child and whether it costs more to educate a child with SEN - people are going to have to

hang on very much to their professional integrity and morality. I'm not sure...

(Headteacher 2)

Well I think the effects of young people with special educational needs is appalling, as you would expect it to be. They're the young people who are really suffering. There was no statementing process in (names authority) for the last 9 months/2 years. There has been very little in the first year, they're only just beginning to come through again, meanwhile this learning support service has been in turmoil. There hasn't been support in the schools. Absolutely disastrous. Thank God my son with a statement of special educational need eluded his statement four years ago, and that was hell four years ago, so what it would be like now I dread - I mean my heart weeps. So they're the people who've really suffered (Officer 3)

The concern with special educational needs and the impact of both ILEA's abolition and the introduction of local management has continued to be a concern in the early 1990s (Vincent, Evans, Lunt and Young, 1994 and 1995). The issues of the impact of local management on the personnel aspects of 'equal opportunities' will be examined in the next section. Nevertheless, the issue of special educational needs was seen as a key concern for those interviewed as part of this research.

4.7. ILEA – the end of an era?

As the analysis of the interviews shows the reasons for ILEA's abolition are complex and complicated. The abolition needs to be placed in the wider context of the restructuring of the relationship between central and local government that was at the forefront of the changes introduced in the mid to late 1980s by the Thatcher government. In addition, the specific issues surrounding ILEA, its progressive stance on education and 'equal opportunities', its role as a counter power base to central government and its in-built Labour majority, all had a part to play in its ultimate downfall. For those involved as staff in inner London's education service, these complexities are central. Whilst, for some, ILEA had elements of a wasteful bureaucracy, it also represented a 'collective family' geared towards supporting, guiding and educating inner London's children.

The increasing reliance on league tables, target setting and other performance indicators was seen as a means of providing 'product' information to parents/carers to enable them to select the best school for their child. This rhetoric of 'consumer choice', parent preference, and diversity have provided the public debating framework within which debates on education and schooling are now cast. This shift embodies the dichotomy whereby the professional is cast in opposition to the market, the teacher as in opposition to the parent. The use of 'parental choice' as a clarion call for the right in justifying its educational policies has sought to contrast and in some cases, overtly place, parent against teacher, parent against the local education authority, the 'consumer' against the professional, the 'consumer' against the bureaucrat. The 'parent' is seen as intrinsically conservative (with both a large and a small 'c'), a supporter of educational reform concerned with raising standards and a bulwark against the professional interests of the teaching and local authority educational bureaucracy.

Parents know best the needs of their children - certainly better than educational theorists or administrators, better even than our mostly excellent teachers... The better the service, the better the commitment of parents and pupils and the greater the willingness of parents to be involved with the life and performance of the school. The stronger the commitment, the stronger the school. GM (sic) status is already showing just how effective this process can be and pointing the way to the future. (Department for Education, 1992, p.2)

This construction of the 'parent' raises issues around the notion of parental choice and its implications for gender, race and class inequalities. In particular, it assumes that there is a homogeneity amongst parents as a collective which leads them to have shared views on a range of topics including what constitutes a 'good' or 'bad' school (David, 1994, Whitty, 1997).

Bagley (1996) has highlighted the way 'race' is omitted from the political rhetoric of parental choice yet it acts as a defining factor in the way parents make choices about schools. In his examination of issues that effected parents' choice of schools, the issue of 'race' became synonymous for white parents with 'bad' schools (yet not vice versa for Black parents). As Bagley points out:

In essence, through the enactment of these reforms, parental choice is intended to function as the motor by which the competitive quasi-market in education is driven and the quality of schooling improves; good schools grow while bad ones either change or close. The pivotal role of parents in shaping the nature of educational provision, coupled with increased rights to express a preference and

obtain the school of their choice could - if informed by 'race'- have significant implications for the ethnic composition of schools. (Bagley, 1996, p. 570)

4.8. The new inner London authorities

(1) On the 1st April 1990 the following shall cease to exist -

(a) the Inner London Education Authority (in this Part referred to as "ILEA") and any education committee established by that Authority; and

(b) the Inner London Education Area. (Education Reform Act 1988, Section 162, p. 164)

On 1 April 1990 responsibility for education in inner London was transferred to the 13 inner London boroughs. These 13 boroughs cover a wide and differing range of inner city urban 'problems' as well as covering differing educational areas. As stated earlier, the ILEA had provided a means of transferring finances and resources for education across the range of inner London boroughs, in particular from the City (which has only one state primary school) to boroughs such as Tower Hamlets, Camden and Hackney. This has had a specific impact on schools, teachers and staff working in authorities where the 'cuts' have been greatest. As one local government officer observed the quantity of change with which education service in the new London LEAs have had to cope has made the process of moving from one large authority to a small authority more difficult:

The process of managing change is very very difficult and the schools in the borough and the teachers in the borough had so much change so much more

than the rest of the country, to cope with. They moved from a very wealthy authority to quite a poor authority and in addition to kind of diminishing resources, they've got to cope with the National Curriculum, and all the other kind of educational things that come out every five minutes from ministers, and I think it's made it very difficult for them. (Officer 2)

Following the passing of the 1988 Education Reform Act, the 13 inner London boroughs were requested to submit plans outlining their future education policies and plans to the Secretary of State for Education by February 1989. It is these plans that formed the original policy basis for the structure and approach to education in each of the new local education authorities.

These plans have provided the data for analysing the approach to equal opportunities taken in each of the boroughs. However, it is important to note that these plans represent an 'ideal type' rather than the reality in each of the boroughs. As highlighted in Section 2, such plans constitute blueprints which may be altered when policy is turned into practice and when models become reality. Given that, the plans represent a particular policy statement at a particular point of time and provide a useful basis on which to compare and contrast different approaches to 'equal opportunities'.

After looking in general terms at the conception of 'equal opportunities' contained within the inner London borough's education development plans, I will examine in details a number of contrasting approaches to equalities in education. In order to highlight the differences in approach and the link

with political control of the borough, I will focus in more detail on three boroughs development plans, Wandsworth (a Conservative controlled authority), Hammersmith and Fulham (a Labour controlled authority) and Tower Hamlets (an authority that has shifted its political control from Labour to Liberal Democrat and back to Labour).

In contrast with ILEA's radical and structural approach to 'equal opportunities', many of the boroughs have different approaches as to what constitutes 'equality of opportunity'. All of these approaches can be located within a 'liberal' rather than a 'radical' framework on equality. Many of the boroughs emphasise the importance of 'access' to the education system without locating that system within a broader structural analysis of power within society. Many of boroughs saw education as a 'neutral' site in terms of class, 'race' and gender rather than part of the reproduction of inequality. This is particularly the case in terms of areas of the curriculum, where 'access' is a key issue, rather than content.

As stated earlier, these differing conceptualisations highlight important ideological shifts in terms of educational policy and practice. These definitions have repercussions in terms of the way we see society and the role of education in supporting or challenging the status quo. For example, within the Education Plans themselves there are differences in the textual status given to 'equal opportunities'. In simple quantitative terms, of the eleven boroughs that were able to provide their plans, four contained within them a specific section titled and dealing with 'equal opportunities' issues, whilst others subsumed 'equal opportunities within sections dealing with other areas. For example the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea have a section under 'Learning and its Management' entitled 'The learning needs of ethnic minorities', thus implying that 'equal

opportunities' is only an issue for children from ethnic minority backgrounds and only in terms of their access to learning. In contrast, Hackney, has a separate section to its development plan entitled 'The Educational Needs of Black and Ethnic Minorities' covering issues such as Consultation, Achievement, Learning Environment, Home Environment, Supplementary Schools, Language Policy and Provision and Additional Funding. The document also has specific sections dealing with the needs of the orthodox Jewish community and traveller education. Hackney's approach to equal opportunities is further detailed in its opening section on the principles and priorities underlying their approach to education.

Although Hackney's approach does not place education as clearly within a structural approach to oppression in society, the development plan emphasises the role of education in challenging existing stereotypes and discrimination. In particular, the document makes reference to the importance of 'positive images'.

Hackney believes that the education of each person is of equal importance. It is committed, both in education and employment policy, to challenging discrimination and restriction of opportunity on grounds of class, race, sex, disability or for being lesbian or gay. It will aim to see that education in Hackney equips all students with the knowledge, understanding and independence of mind which are essential to overcoming prejudice and stereotyping and will develop policies which present positive and accurate images of these sections of the community. (Hackney, 1989, p. 12)

Hackney's approach see issues of equality both as resting in individual assumptions and prejudices and as part of the wider structural inequalities of society. Again in their statement on principles and priorities they raise the issue of the historical experience of girls and women in the education system. In contrast with ILEA's approach, the language of the document is more subdued and sees 'barriers' in education which prevent girls and young women from realising their educational potential.

'The Council is committed to delivering education in a manner that takes account of the historical inequalities suffered by girls and women in the schooling and education system, and it will be concerned to monitor progress in this area with regard to issues of access, curriculum content, choice of courses and outcomes.

(Hackney, 1989, p. 12)

Although many of the plans refer, in passing, to the work and policies of the ILEA, those which include a definition of 'equal opportunities' tend not to take the radical structural stance that the ILEA adopted in its anti-racist and anti-sexist statements. Rather than a policy which informs all educational initiatives and seeks to challenge the educational and societal status quo, for many authorities the term is used to represent a policy based in the liberal model of 'equal opportunities' with an emphasis on equal access to both schooling, the curriculum and the local educational hierarchy:

Lewisham believes the best way to promote equal opportunities is through equal access to good quality education. (Lewisham, 1989, p.2).

Many of these plans also focus on 'equal of opportunity' as a specific mechanism for raising individual and local educational attainment. Thus they link schooling and equalities issues with achievement to seek to ensure that groups are equally represented in the academic stakes.

There are significant problems with defining 'equal opportunities' in terms of 'access' or 'achievement'. Significantly, the question of how 'achievement' is to be measured, and the relationship between resources and academic achievement are all open to debate (Greenwald, Hedges, and Laine, 1996). Moreover, by focusing on 'achievement', failure is directed towards individual students, rather than the structural obstacles to educational success. By this means education as part of the structures of the status quo is replaced with a model that sees education as the solution to gaining a place in the status quo.

'Equal opportunities' can mean different things to different LEAs. There is little that is consistent in terms of policies and initiatives put forward across the inner London boroughs. This differing approach can be most starkly seen in the case of Westminster where the 'progressive' rhetoric of 'equal opportunities' is used not only to justify a regressive equal opportunities policy but also to devalue other more radical LEAs. By focusing on fluency in English, Westminster undermines the role of mother tongue teaching⁶⁷ as instrumental in both anti-racist and multi-cultural education:

⁶⁷Mother-tongue teaching was also an important issue in ILEA's approach to teaching children with English as a second language. It is unlikely that all schools adopted the 'mother tongue' approach but it was an approach used to create the 'folkdevil' of the ILEA person.

The council sees the acquisition of fluency in English as central to pupils education and thereby one of the most powerful means of providing true equality of opportunity. (City of Westminster, 1989, p.21- my emphasis).

Although most of the documents address the questions of gender, 'race' and class in the education system, most do not place notions of 'equality' within a wider structural framework which link inequalities in the education system to a wider system of oppression in British society.

Turning to three specific development plans, Wandsworth, Tower Hamlets and Hammersmith and Fulham, there are three different conceptions and approaches to the issue of 'equal opportunities' within education.

Wandsworth's development plan includes a section on 'Educational policies in relation to racial minority groups' and 'Education policies in relation to gender' under the auspices of a wider section on 'Education and the Community'. There is in a sense, then, even in the way the document has been produced that marginalises equality issues as being of concern to the community, but not central to the development of education within the borough. However, this section specifically deals with issues of 'Equal Opportunities in Employment', 'Language Teaching', 'Relevance of the Curriculum', 'Under-Achievement' and 'Policies on Racism or Racial Harassment'. Wandsworth emphasise the role of 'multi-cultural' teaching and stress the role of education in creating the future workforce within existing structures of society rather than challenging them. Hence:

The Council is (however) committed to ensuring that curriculum detail and teaching styles fully reflect a multi-cultural approach, are designed to counter any influence of racial discrimination or racism, and promote respect for different cultures and religious beliefs. This approach will be incorporated within a broadly based general curriculum which will aim to fit all children for their career in society. (Wandsworth, 1989, p. 104)

Tower Hamlets' approach contrasts with that of Wandsworth in that it specifically focuses on the issue of 'equal access'. The document emphasises the role of equal access in providing educational opportunities for those who have been traditionally denied them. The development plan outlines the reason for adopting an 'equal access' approach in contrast with an 'equal opportunities' approach.

In a borough of diverse communities, with diverse needs, many of whose people suffer discrimination and are barred from the traditional routes to education or employment, the principle of equal access is of the greatest importance..... We use the term 'equal access' rather than the more familiar 'equal opportunities' as a more precise and appropriate one to education. 'Equal opportunities implies an equal chance to compete. That is indeed important, but is not in all circumstances enough. 'Equal access' goes further, implying that even those who are not initially in a position to compete will be enabled to do so. (Tower Hamlets, 1989, p. 29)

In this approach, education is seen as being about 'competition' to which all must have an access route.

Access to education is an important theme for the Tower Hamlets development plan due to the specific local circumstances within which the plan was developed. At the time the development plan was written, there were an estimated 477 children not placed in schools and a need for an additional 3000 places in schools by 1994 (Tower Hamlets, 1989). Obviously, given the crucial need to ensure children have schools to go to and given the race dimension on this set of circumstances (the majority of children not in schools being from a Bangladeshi background), access to the education system itself is an overt theme of the document.

The local circumstances in Tower Hamlets have also influenced their approach within the development plan to issues of sexual equality. Recognising the diverse needs of local communities can bring particular tensions in policy approaches to equality issues. In contrast with Wandsworth document, Tower Hamlets plan specifically raises the issue of the interplay between the needs of local communities, gender and 'race'.

The Council's approach will be to combine an unequivocal commitment to sexual equality in all its institutions and functions with an understanding of different traditions, and a policy of open discussion of these differences. It is already evident that many young women in Tower Hamlets are managing to combine more independence for themselves with a full commitment to their families and

culture; this difficult reconciliation is one the Council would wish to emulate and support. (Tower Hamlets, 1989, p. 139)

In contrast Hammersmith and Fulham's educational development plan is based on a different model of education and the role of 'equal opportunities' within this. The plan makes open reference to the work of the Inner London Education Authority in this area and sees the transfer of educational responsibilities as a mechanism for continuing the work in the area of 'equal opportunities'. In contrast with both Wandsworth and Tower Hamlets, Hammersmith and Fulham's approach emphasises institutional factors which may impede equality of opportunity.

The Council wishes to continue the work of ILEA in ensuring wherever possible that institutional factors, the way schools and colleges are organised, the content of the curriculum, the approach to teaching and learning, and the composition of the workforce within the education service, helps to eliminate these inequalities of opportunity. (Hammersmith and Fulham, 1989, p. 107)

Moreover, in a development of ILEA's own approach, Hammersmith and Fulham's approach emphasises the role of class as an overriding factor in educational achievement. Hence:

The main thrust of the equal opportunities policy Hammersmith and Fulham will inherit from the ILEA has been focused on issues relating to race, gender and disability. However, factors of class have not been neglected.... Many of the perceptions and approaches needed to combat racism and sexism are also relevant to class beginning with the recognition that structural and institutional

factors, not ability, are barriers to achievement. (Hammersmith and Fulham, 1989, p.107)

In contrast with Tower Hamlets and Wandsworth, a different model of inequality and a different model of education was developed by Hammersmith and Fulham. This is a model which more fully accords with the locating of the education system and schooling within a wider framework of power and oppression that was a part of the ILEA's approach to 'equal opportunities'.⁶⁸

4.9. Conclusion

This section has focused on the abolition of the ILEA within a wider context of the restructuring of the welfare state and the renegotiating of the relationships between central and local government that were an explicit part of the Conservative Government of the 1980s and 1990s. It has sought to base the analysis of the abolition of ILEA and the establishment of the thirteen new inner London local education authorities (including the City of London) within the framework given by section 2, in particular drawing together the links between the national and local arena to examine their implications for specific individuals within London's education.

The purpose, then, has been to focus on the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority as an atypical example of policy research. Atypical in the sense that ILEA was unique both in its

⁶⁸ There is also an issue concerning 'equal opportunities' and the representativeness of governing bodies. Given the responsibilities transferred to school governing bodies under local management of schools, the issue of representativeness and inner London governors is dealt with in a later section.

constitution and in its abolition, but, at the same time, it is hoped that the analysis in this section contains general issues which can be applied both to education policy research and to an understanding of national and local government. The abolition of ILEA represents a clear example of policy based within an explicit political framework, with explicit political outcomes. In this example, education and schooling cannot be seen as outside of either the machinations of national government nor the welfare state and wider social policy. Above all, the abolition of ILEA highlights *the political nature of schooling and education policy.*

The section also sought to contextualise the abolition of the ILEA within the personal reference framework of local government officers, headteachers, school administrators and governors who were at the receiving end of this particular policy. It aimed to 'put the people into policy' (Ball, 1997a) and to focus on their understandings of the rationale behind the abolition and how they made sense of the abolition.

The section finished by looking at the establishment of the twelve inner London local education authorities (excluding the City of London) which took over responsibility for education on 1st April 1990. The section drew attention to the way in which the abolition of ILEA has succeeded in creating a smaller 'space' for progressive policies on equal opportunities in general and anti-racism and anti-sexism in particular. It examined the approaches to equalities issues which the inner London boroughs subscribed to as part of their education development plans. In particular, it sought to draw attention to the interplay between the national policy of abolishing ILEA and ILEA's anti-racists and anti-sexist approaches and the local borough policies towards equalities as contained in the inner London borough education development plans.

The next section will concentrate on another initiative within the 1988 Education Reform Act that has had huge implications for class, race and gender issues throughout inner London for local government and for schools, that of local management of schools.

5. London Calling – the Case of Local Management of Schools in Inner London.^{69 70}

*I am not prepared to see children in some parts of this country having to settle for a second class education. Education can make or mar each child's prospects. Each has but one chance in life... That is why the great themes of quality, diversity, parental choice, school autonomy and accountability run through the White Paper. They are the way to secure what I believe to be essential - to ask the best **for** every child: to ask the best **from** every child. Excellence must be the key word in all our schools: that is what our children deserve. That is what we intend to achieve.* (John Major, Prime Minister in introduction to the White Paper, Choice and Diversity, 1992)

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of the next two sections is to examine in detail the effects of another of the policy initiatives contained within the 1988 Education Reform Act in the context of the abolition of ILEA and the new inner London local education authorities, that of local management of schools (LMS). Unlike the policy of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority examined in the previous section, which had as its focus a specific geographical and political site, local management of schools was a national initiative shaping the way schools would be controlled and the way they would be funded in each local education authority in England and Wales. Despite this national element of the policy of local management of schools, the specifics of its introduction at a local level

⁶⁹ An earlier version of this and the next section appeared as Reynolds (1992), Reynolds, (1993a) and Reynolds (1993b). However, both sections have been completely revised and rewritten.

(both in terms of the way the policy was implemented and the timing of that implementation) varied across the country. In the case of the ex-ILEA boroughs, the introduction of LMS was shaped by the specific context of inner London's education system and inner London schools.

These two sections concentrate on the twin elements of the policy of local management of schools: formula funding and devolved management. This first section will examine the introduction of LMS in inner London from the perspective of the financial relationship that local management put in place between schools and their local education authorities and will examine the contradictions and complexities between formula funding and the introduction of a market in education. It will also examine the issues raised in the literature review (section 2) about the relationships between central and local government and the changes in the role of local education authorities. Using the methodological approaches referred to in section 3, the section will examine these issues through the use of content analysis of inner London boroughs local management schemes, the Section 42/Section 122 statements published by each local education authority and the interview data from local government officers, headteachers and governors. In contrast, the next section will have as its focus an examination of devolved management, the effects of this on the relationships between headteachers, governors, and the local education authority and the personnel implications of local management of schools.

Throughout both of the sections, the specificity of the inner London context and the impact on 'equal opportunities' and policies to address social justice issues will provide a key focus of the analysis.

In particular, using documentary evidence and the analysis of interviews, the sections will seek to place such analysis within the wider context of the reform of the welfare state and the changes in the relationships between local and national government during late 1980s and early 1990s.

As stated earlier, the focus of this section will be an examination of the changes local management of schools introduced in terms of the mechanisms for the funding of schools. In order to understand the implications of local management of schools in the inner London context, the section will begin with a brief summary of the arguments presented in section 2 with a particular emphasis on the role of local management in the introduction of the educational marketplace. In addition, the section will then provide a brief overview of the structure of local management in order to locate the analysis of local management of school schemes. In particular, it will examine the conceptual and ideological framework that structured the introduction of 'formula funding' and the role that delegated funding played in the creation of an educational market. The section will then move on to examine the specifics of formula funding in terms of the mechanism used to allocate resources to schools and the implications this has had for inner London schools. In the last part of the section, analysis from the interviews will be used to examine the issues of local management and the relationship between schools and their local education authorities in the inner London context.

5.2. Creating the framework - the policy of educational markets

Section 2 of this thesis, highlighted the changes introduced by the 1988 Education Reform Act⁷¹ and argued that the Act brought about some of the most substantial changes to the system of state education since the 1944 Education Act. It drew attention to the way that these changes were shaped by an ideological framework that sought to introduce the principles of 'market forces' to education and change the relationship between central and local government (see for example, Ranson and Tomlinson (eds.), 1994, Dawtrey, Holland, Hammer, with Sheldon, 1995, Ball, 1997b, Whitty, Power, Halpin, 1998 to name but a few). Indeed, it argued that the policies of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools in inner London cannot be adequately understood without wider reference to the socio-political changes and the specific ideological framework of the Conservative Government of the mid to late 1980s and that the Inner London Education Authority acted as a potential site for opposition to such a framework.

In terms of the focus of this section, that of formula funding and local management of schools, there has been a tendency amongst the majority of research to focus either at the level of a discussion of the introduction of the educational marketplace and the role of local management within it, (for example Weiner, 1997, Whitty, Power, Halpin, 1998), or at the level of resourcing issues and school budgets, formula funding and management organisation theory (for example, Bullock and Thomas, 1992, Lee, 1992, Halsey, 1993, Levacic and Jesson, 1993, Levacic, 1993a, Levacic, 1993b, Levacic and Woods, 1994, Levacic, 1995). However, despite the emphasis on either the market or the formula, there has been some research which has explicitly sought to examine the relationship

⁷¹ The changes contained in the 1988 Act were later consolidated in the form of the 1994 Education Act.

between formula funding and the introduction of the market and to place this within the wider context of changes in the relationships between national and local government (for example, Bowe, Ball with Gold, 1992, Hatcher, Troyna and Gewirtz, 1996)

It is my contention that these two elements of local management (the creation of a market in education and the resourcing/funding/management issues) are, in fact, linked through the ideological framework of the educational marketplace and its policy expression through the funding formula element of local management of schools (LMS). Indeed, it is precisely the link between these two elements of the policy of local management which will form the focus of this section.

Central to the analysis is a focus on the way in which the ideology of the last Conservative Government rested on a specific set of assumptions that saw education as performing a certain functions, state schools as certain types of institutions and teachers and pupils as certain types of people. Indeed, just as it is often argued that the National Curriculum rests on an assumption of a specific type of educational knowledge and a certain type of educational practice (Silcock, 1997), so I would argue that local management assumes a specific model of pupil, school, governor, teacher and parent and that this is embodied in the mechanism for resourcing schools under local management, that of formula funding.⁷²

⁷² There is little evidence to suggest that the new Labour Government elected in May 1997 has moved away from this conception of education. For a fuller discussion of the impact of the Labour Government on education, please see the postscript

In summary, the measures introduced by the Conservative Governments of Thatcher and Major were far-reaching and considerable. Taken together they represent a substantial shift in the post-war educational consensus which was responsible for framing much British educational policy in the 1960s and 1970s (Ball, 1991, Jones, 1989, Hatcher, Troyna and Gewirtz, 1996, Weiner, 1997).

The educational reforms introduced in the UK, mainly between 1988 and 1994, were sweeping and extensive and aimed at destabilising and breaking up the post-war professional culture of schooling which was perceived by some on the New Right as mediocre, collectivist and self-serving, and by many equality activists including feminists, as excluding, discriminatory and elitist. The reforms reflected the ideological split in the Conservative Party with the heavily centralised and prescriptive curriculum and assessment changes representing the views of the neo-conservatives, and the atomised, deregulation of the organisational changes, representing those of market-liberals. (Weiner, 1997, p.11)

However, it is important to understand the limits of education legislation and educational reform as well as detailing the broader issues that the reforms raise. The provisions of the Act did not apply equally across the United Kingdom and there are disparities built into in the application of the provisions of the 1988 Reform Act across Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and England, and across the state and independent sectors⁷³. For example, the provisions governing the introduction of local management only apply in England and Wales where schools have governing bodies.

⁷³ This differential application of the legislation has continued under the Labour Government elected in May 1997. For example, one of the key planks of the new Government in education, the National Literacy Strategy including the literacy hour, is to be the subject of 'local discretion' in Wales, whereas for England it is compulsory. (cf. Times Educational Supplement, 7 August 1998)

Scottish school boards (composed of parents, teachers and co-opted members) do not have the responsibilities and powers that the English and Welsh governing bodies possess, nor do they have powers of financial management in the way that LMS introduces. Moreover the provisions of the Act do not apply to independent schools who are free to manage themselves and their curricula as they see fit. It is then the state sector of English and Welsh schools which is the focus of many of the measures of the reforms, and it is in this arena that the effects of this provision will be most strongly felt.

The abolition of the Inner London Education Authority provided the socio-political context for the implementation of the interweaving of the strands of the Reform Act in terms of local management and the restructuring of London's education. This needs to be understood within the framework of ideology of the last Conservative Government and the specific issues surrounding education in the inner cities. As seen in the previous section, the Reform Act was itself a response to the perceived situation within the inner cities and the particular approaches to 'equal opportunities' adopted by a number of metropolitan authorities:

*At least in part, I would argue, Conservative education policies were forged as a response to developments specific to certain urban school systems. During the 1970s and 1980s it became widely accepted within the Conservative Party that the school curriculum was out of control and that 'real' knowledge was being replaced by an 'ideological curriculum'. **Anti-racism and sexual politics were particular causes for concern.** (Ball, 1997b,p.3, my emphasis)*

5.3. LMS and the Creation of a Market in Education

As stated earlier, the introduction of local management of schools (LMS) as part of the 1988 Education Reform Act marked a break with preceding developments in educational policy that were framed by the post-war educational consensus. Central to this break was an attempt to create an educational market consisting of 'consumers' making choices about the type of education children should receive. This introduction of the market was seen to be central to any introduction of an educational entrepreneurialism that would provide the mechanism for raising educational and academic standards and consequently addressing the weakness of the British economy. Central to the 1988 Act was the introduction of the concept of 'consumer choice' as reflected in the key Conservative themes of choice and diversity. This introduction of market forces into the educational sphere was seen as a means of producing a competitive, differentiated and flexible work force and curing education of its perceived ills. In the political rhetoric surrounding the introduction of the Act and the continuing debate following its implementation, education is clearly linked to the lack of competitiveness in the British economy and the introduction of an educational market mechanism is seen as a means of creating a new type of worker needed for the economy of the twenty-first century.⁷⁴

The attempt to introduce the market into education is the philosophy of local management of schools (LMS). LMS was in a sophisticated sense the practical policy outcome of the ideological formulation of an educational market. LMS was the mechanism for enabling a market to exist, although it was not the market itself. Through the development of formula funding, which funds schools predominantly according to the number of pupils on roll, the individual elements of costs

which enable schools to be compared in terms of inputs (the pupils, the school) and outcomes (the Standard Assessment Tests or GCSE results).⁷⁵

The introduction of local management of schools (LMS) was the linchpin in the strategy to transfer power away from local education authorities to schools governing bodies as well as beginning to create an educational market (Levacic, 1995, Hatcher, Troyna and Gewirtz, 1996). In order to create an education market, certain aspects of education must be measurable and costed. This is clearly seen through the stress on quantitative performance indicators, league tables for exam and truancy figures, and the stress on value for money and quality assurance mechanisms⁷⁶. In order to cost education the price of all the elements which create an 'educational outcome' must be known. The main mechanism for achieving this in the 1988 Education Reform Act was the introduction of local management of schools. In their explanation of the five elements creating the educational market (choice, diversity, competition, per capita funding and organisation), Bowe, Ball with Gold (1992) clearly expose the relationship between local management, the creation of the market and forms of education management in the last of the five elements, thus:

Organisation requiring schools to take direct control of their individual budgets, thus linking the new funding system to the internal school decision-making, that is connecting the management of the school directly to market forces. (Bowe, Ball with Gold, 1992, p. 65)

⁷⁴ This has continued under the new Labour Government with its emphasis on equipping children for the jobs of the 21st century through initiatives, such as, the National Grid for Learning.

⁷⁵ The way schools spend the allocated funding has now become one of the elements looked for when schools are inspected under the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED) regime. Schools are deemed either or not to be 'value for money'.

⁷⁶ This can be seen by the annual publication of local authorities spending per pupil on education and the academic results from schools (cf. Audit Commission, 1998a)

LMS not only implied a specific view of schooling and schools but it also sought to replace definitions of democracy that rested on the local electoral politics of local education authorities with a 'consumer choice democracy'. Rather than decisions about education being made by councillors elected by local people, LMS enabled governors to have their own budgets and to exercise decision-making power over the numbers of teachers, books and support staff necessary for the effective running of the school. The local education authority determined the overall budget for education (within the limits set by central government) whilst the school managed within its own budget. The powers of the local education authority were effectively diminished, as it became more and more divorced from the day-to-day running of schools. The clear intention was to marginalise local democratic systems of accountability and replace them with notions of consumer democracy and the market, in order to ensure that the 'obstacle' of local democracy did not impede the expansion and development of the market.

In general, as the number of GM school increases, local authorities will need to consider carefully the most effective way of delivering their continuing responsibilities for education in the light of their particular circumstances. At present there are statutory obstacles which deny local authorities the organisational flexibility which they need to respond properly to the evolution of their education functions. The Government proposes to remove such obstacles, in particular the requirement to establish an Education Committee. Some local

authorities may soon be in sight of no longer needing them. (Department for Education, 1992, p.32)⁷⁷

The issue of the relationships between local education authorities (as part of a system of local council democracy) and school governing bodies has continued to be an issue throughout the development of local management. In particular, the increased delegation to schools brought about by the 1994 Education Act transferred an increased level of resources and control to school governing bodies away from local councils.

Local authorities comprise elected councillors each with a constituency. Teacher and parent governors have a constituency, the remaining governors have none. Most governing bodies 'let the head get on with it'. Accountability in the present system is a sham. (NASUWT, 1998, p.17)

This replacement of electoral democracy with a quasi-democracy through school governing bodies was critical in the implementation of LMS in inner London. Given the specific issues in relation to the development of anti-racist and anti-sexist strategies discussed in the previous section, the delegation of power and resources to school governing bodies has limited the space for developments in anti-racist and anti-sexist initiatives and policies which are shaped by theories of

⁷⁷ It is worth noting that one of the implications of the changes in the relationships between central and local government have been the development of different forms of 'education committees'. Under the legislation of the 1944 Education Act, local education authorities had to established 'education committees'. This was repealed by the Conservative Government in the early 1990s. As a result by autumn 1998, of the inner London boroughs (excluding the City of London) two now have no Education Committee. Tower Hamlets replaced the Education Committee with an Education Strategy Panel following the 1994 Education Act and Hammersmith and Fulham changed to a pilot structure for local government in May 1998 which removed committees for all areas of the Council.

social justice (Miles and Middleton, 1990, Arnot and Weiler, (eds.), 1993, Arnot, David and Weiner, 1996).

The educational reforms, particularly local management of schools (LMS), have altered LEA-school relations, shifting responsibility for equal opportunities from LEAs to individual schools. The impact of this shift is differentially felt, depending on exist LEA-school relations and the history of policy development on equality issues. (Arnot, David and Weiner, 1996, p.xv)

The creation of the market depended on constituting a 'consumer' or 'client' for education. The 'consumer' in education was a particularly wide and often vague concept, but it explicitly did not include the child in their role as school pupil. Building on changes introduced by the 1986 Act, 'consumers' were cast at one step removed from the classroom. In terms of local management of schools, the 'consumers' were defined as parents, local and national industry, the local community and even the economy and the United Kingdom as a whole. It is these 'consumers' through their role on governing bodies, their choices over schools and as an ideological pressure group used by central government to support particular policies, who were seen as the engine in driving the implementation of the market in education (Deem, Brehony and Heath, 1995).

The introduction of LMS changed the funding of schools and placed power to make decisions about the structure and functioning of institutions in the hands of the governing body. Local management and the funding formula which apportions the delegated budget to school governing bodies has become **the** mechanism for funding schools, it has become part of the educational hegemony of

resourcing schools. In this model, rather than being 'consumers' of education, pupils became both the 'raw material' of schooling and the 'end product' to education measured through 'quality control systems' such as the publication of examination and National Curriculum results, truancy tables and performance indicators. In many ways, the Act and specifically the ideology behind local management, envisaged schools (particularly inner city schools) as enterprise units led by a chief executive (the headteacher), supported by a board of directors (the governing body), a work-force (the teacher and support staff), 'consumers' (seen as parents rather than the students themselves) and a final product - National Curriculum achievers or pupils. This was firmly in contrast to the models of education as both part of the system of inequality and as a mechanism for social justice as developed by the Inner London Education Authority. It is therefore worth quoting from the Inner London Education Authority's own project report on local management:

The claim for LMS is that educational opportunities for all pupils are improved - by this criterion it will be judged. In the urban context this is a challenge and a risk. (Inner London Education Authority 1990a, p.22)

5.4. LMS, and Age Weighted Pupil Units

Critical to the introduction of local management of schools was the development of a funding regime, which allocated individual funds to individual school governing bodies through the mechanism of 'formula funding'. The mechanism of formula funding was both enshrined in the 1988 Education Reform Act and prescribed through the various circulars emanating from the Department for Education and Employment in its various guises (in particular Circular 7/88 [Department of Education and Science, 1988b] and Circular 7/91 [Department of Education and Science, 1991] and the consolidating circular 7/94 (Department for Education, 1994). Although

such circulars do not 'constitute an authoritative legal interpretation of the provisions of the Education Acts or other enactments and regulations' (Department for Education 7/94), they continue to provide a clear indication of the thinking of ministers and the civil servants within the Department.

The policy of LMS was thus supported in its implementation through a series of circulars produced by the central government department responsible for overseeing education⁷⁸. These circulars prescribed the way in which local management of schools should operate and the framework for the local delivery of a national policy. This was particularly the case in relation to finances whereby circulars detailed the mechanism for establishing both the elements of expenditure which constituted the 'pot' of funds for schools, the level of delegation of that 'pot' to schools, and the funding formula for delivering an allocation to individual schools⁷⁹. Hence all the local management schemes submitted by the inner London boroughs adhered to the structure and framework as given in these circulars, for example:

The Hammersmith and Fulham 'Scheme for Local Management of Schools' has been prepared in accordance with the requirements of the Education Reform Act 1988, the Department of Education and Science Circular 7/88 and the Education (Delegation to Schools) (Mandatory Exceptions) Regulations 1989 and the DES Circular 7/91. (Hammersmith and Fulham, 1992, p.3)

⁷⁸The Department for Education and Science was renamed in 1991 and became the Department for Education. In 1995 following amalgamation with the Department of Employment, it became the Department for Education and Employment.

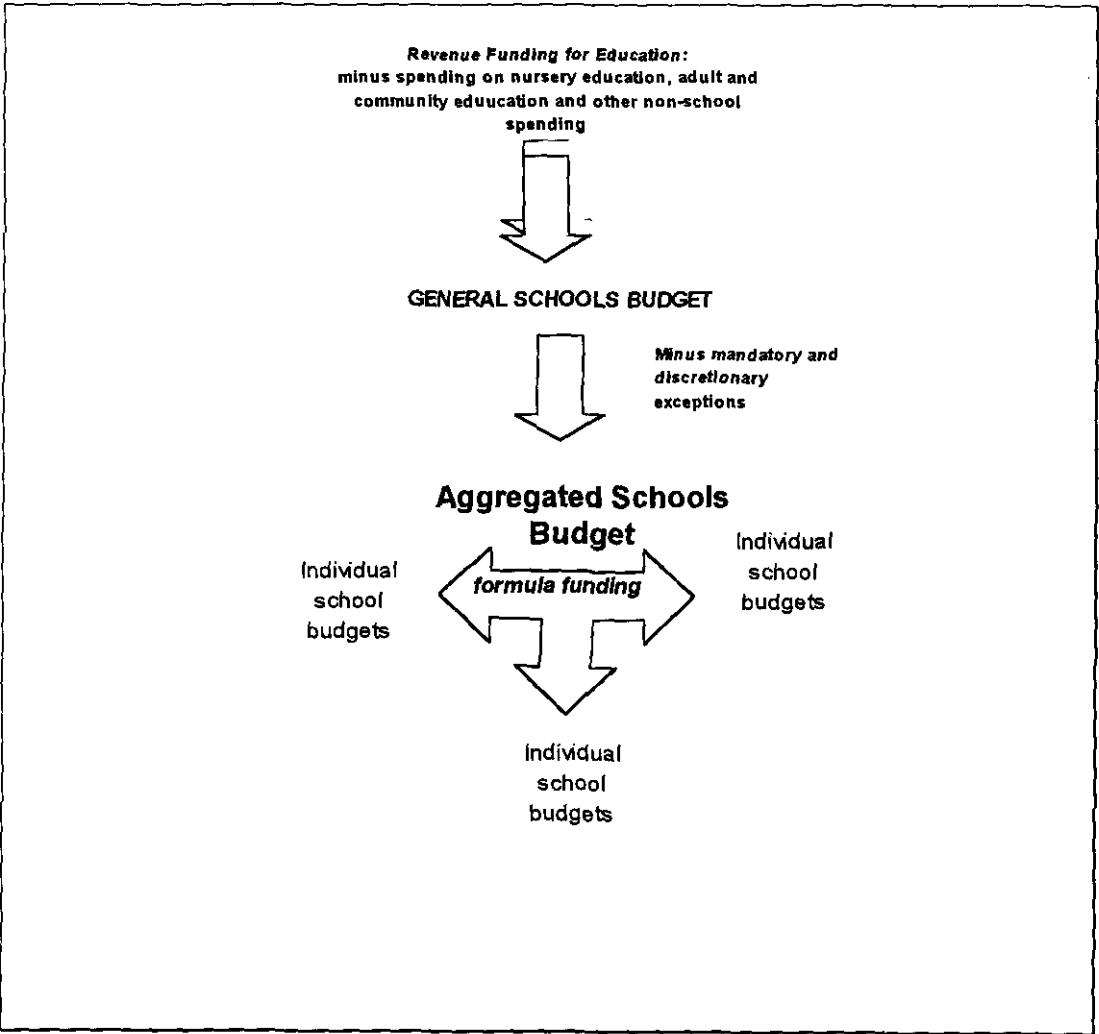
⁷⁹ Le Grand and Bartlett (1993) argue that given the prescriptive structure of the measures brought in by the Education Reform Act 1988 that there is a 'quasi market' in education. That is the market and entry to it is highly regulated and controlled by central government.

The burden of the development of policy and the implementation of local management of schools rested in the main on local authority local government officers. Within the narrow framework defined by central government through circulars such as Circular 7/94 and the policy framework given by local councillors, local education authority officers were responsible for the bulk of consultations, negotiation and policy writing that shaped the way LMS would operate in any particular borough.

Local management of schools schemes were submitted to individual borough education committees and then submitted to the Secretary of State for Education. These schemes therefore represent the 'public face' of the policy and can act as a guide to implementation of LMS at a local level.

In the case of all local education authorities, these circulars prescribed the general approach to formula funding both in terms of the method for calculating the overall amount given to schools and in terms of the method used to allocate this to individual school governing bodies. The Act proposed a model of funding which determine the amount that should be allocated to schools through formula funding by reference to the creation of an aggregated schools budget. The Aggregated Schools Budget (or ASB as it is more commonly referred to) is in essence the remainder of spending once non-school spending has been removed. This is shown diagrammatically below:

Diagram 6



In the case of formula funding, these circulars gave the framework for the development of schemes for local management and, in particular, the requirements on local education authorities in terms of the appropriate level of delegation to school governing bodies. Under the terms of these circulars, local education authorities were obliged to calculate an Aggregated Schools Budget (ASB) by deducting mandatory and discretionary exceptions from the total amount of expenditure available to be spent on schools (the General Schools Budget). It was these 'exceptions' which were seen by

central government and some schools as money which was tied up in bureaucracy at the local education authority level and would be better spent on schools. Hence, in 1994 the DfEE introduced a new definition of 'potential schools budget' to increase the level of delegation to school governing bodies. For the financial year, 1995/96 local education authorities including inner London local education authorities were required to delegate 85% of a newly defined 'potential schools budget' (Department for Education, 1994).

The room for local decision making rested in the decisions taken concerning the overall amount to be delegated to schools and the elements contained in the formula which could be used to reflect local need. Hence, the approach taken by inner London local education authorities is a reflection of both the national framework and the local political decision making process. It is, then, to the inner London context that I now wish to turn.

5.5. Formulae in Inner London

Sections 3 and 4 of this thesis examined the inner London context in terms of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority. One of the points raised concerned the effect of the abolition on both decreasing central government expenditure to inner London's education system and to the redistribution of funds from Labour authorities to Conservative ones following abolition. The reallocation of expenditure provided part of the context for the different approaches taken by individual boroughs to the introduction of formula funding.

The content analysis of inner London boroughs local management schemes shows the degree to which the central framework shaping the method of calculating overall expenditure on schools and the allocation formula for delivering that expenditure created a uniform approach across each LEA. None of the authorities departed from the structure given by the Department for Education, however, different authorities choose to phase in local management (for example, Hammersmith and Fulham) delegating expenditure over a couple of years, whereas others (such as Southwark) gave full delegation to school governing bodies from the start of local management in April 1992. Westminster Council gave full delegation to its schools in 1990 although inner London boroughs were not required to introduce local management before April 1992. In line with the political composition of Westminster Council and its role as one of the 'Tory flagships'⁸⁰ Westminster also delegated expenditure to its nursery schools, although this was not required by legislation.

Therefore, different councils approached local management of schools in different ways, some of which depended on the political composition of the individual council and its education committee. Westminster's early approach to local management was a case in point, whereby not only did the Council delegate to schools in advance of legislative requirements, but also, Westminster used the discretion allowed under Act to delegate large amounts of central expenditure to its school governing bodies. For Westminster, local management allowed schools greater flexibility and control and reduced the amount centrally retained by the Authority:

A key element of the Council's policy is to direct the maximum possible proportion of its education budget to the institutions. The central department will,

⁸⁰ Following the abolition of ILEA, two Conservative controlled councils were cast as 'flagships' by central government, Westminster and Wandsworth. These two authorities provided a 'symbol' of how education could be run in line with Conservative politics being

pro rata to the size of anticipated budgets, be the smallest in inner London. This emphasises the importance and autonomy of the institutions, whilst at the same time increasing the amount of total funds available to them and their degree of choice. (City of Westminster, 1990, p.4)

This is similar to the approach adopted by Tower Hamlets, whose political composition at that time varied from Westminster in being a liberal-democrat controlled council. The approach for Tower Hamlets was to only centrally retain those areas of expenditure which could not be delegated to schools since this might threaten the statutory functions of the local education authority. Hence, areas which could be retained (such as the expenditure on the inspectorate) would be delegated to schools over a two year period through a system of voluntary 'buy backs'⁸¹ (Tower Hamlets, 1992, p.9).

In contrast with the two approaches of Westminster and Tower Hamlets, Greenwich, a Labour controlled council was more circumspect in its approach to the delegation of central expenditure to schools. In particular, the Council was concerned to emphasise the role of local management as part of the wider changes in schooling under the Education Reform Act.

Very briefly, the Government's intention is to extend public scrutiny of schools' activities and comparative achievements, to maximise the potential for parents to

low spenders on council services yet achieving high educational results. These authorities were contrasted with the profligate 'poorly run' Labour controlled authorities (cf. Saunders, 1990)

⁸¹ The creation of 'buy back' services has been one of the key developments occurring as a result of local management and the pressures on funds held centrally by local education authorities. Under these arrangements, schools are delegated funds for

secure places for their children at the schools of their choice, and to ensure the resources substantially 'follow' pupils as they are admitted to schools. This had (sic) been characterised as extending the principles of the 'market' in education, encouraging schools to do all they can to enhance their reputations with parents so as to increase the number of pupils on roll and the resources received by the LEA. The ability of schools to opt out provides a degree of 'check and balance' on the LEA in the amount of resources it keeps back from delegation and the quality of services it delivers using the money that it does keep back.

(Greenwich, 1991, p.13)

For Greenwich, local management is part of wider set of changes in the relationships between schools and their local education authorities. For Greenwich, this may have particular implications in terms of the expenditure centrally retained by the Authority, hence the Authority lists the principles for retaining such expenditure, indicating that in particular the area of equal opportunities may be 'threatened' by delegation.

..the scheme should retain (as far as possible within the limitations of delegation) the Council's ability to 'target' resources to support its policies, particularly those relating to equality of opportunity. (Greenwich, 1991, p.25)⁸²

specific central services which are then 'bought back' from the authority. The relationship between the authority and the schools in terms of these services is then defined by virtue of a service level agreement.

⁸² This issue of the role of LEA's in supporting equal opportunities policies and the difficulties raised by local management of schools and other elements of the Education Reform Act 1988 are highlighted in Arnot, David and Weiner, 1996.

The creation and calculation of a pot of money to be delegated to school governing bodies was the first step in formula funding under local management of schools. This was achieved by taking the amount for schools (the General Schools Budget) and deducting those items retained centrally by the Authority. As seen above, the degree of central retention and the speed of introduction of delegation to schools were the arena for local flexibility and control rather than the overall structure of local management. Although all authorities adopted the structure of local management, the pace of the introduction of local management and the elements which were centrally retained provided the different level of flexibility for each borough to reflect its local circumstances. Thus there was not a uniform approach to the elements of centrally retained expenditure nor the timing and phasing of local management across inner London.

The second step that was critical in the introduction of the education market was the introduction of a mechanism which allocated individual funds to individual schools through a formula. Although each local education authority was required to have a scheme which gave details of the formula which allocated each school governing body its budget, precise limitations were placed on the form and content of these formulae. In particular, central to the introduction of local management is the allocation of resources on the basis of student numbers. Within each local management scheme at least 80% of the total funds given to schools (the ASB) must be allocated according to Age Weighted Pupil Units (AWPUs) whereby pupils at a given age are allocated a weighting, school funds are then determined by the numbers of pupils on roll at that age. The remaining 20% of funding for schools was then allocated by reference to other factors such as premises measurements.

For the inner London education authorities, representing a wide range and levels of affluence and social deprivation, the issue of formula funding in terms of the creation of the formula and the factors that it took into account was key. The requirements of the formula prescribed that 75% (rising to 80% in 1994) of the amount delegated to schools (the Aggregated Schools Budget) was delegated on the basis of pupil numbers. However, the formula also allowed for an element of the ASB to be delegated to reflect social deprivation and additional educational needs. This element within the formula was used by the inner London Authorities to reflect the specific needs of their local school communities⁸³.

As stated earlier in Section 4, Tower Hamlets had received redistributed funding under ILEA to meet the particular issues of social deprivation and those pupils with English as a second language. The additional educational needs element of Tower Hamlet's formula reflects this in terms of allocating 10% of the Aggregated Schools Budget on the basis of a refined Educational Priorities Index originally developed by ILEA. Funds were given to schools on the basis of their pupils' backgrounds, in particular: their eligibility for free school meals; whether they came from 'large families' or one-parent families; the number of pupils not receiving nursery education and the mobility of pupils (that is the number of pupils moving into and out of a school). This approach is interesting, given the particular circumstances of the borough, which continues to have a high incidence of 'English as a second language' speakers, no funds were allocated for this specific 'need'.

⁸³ The issue of the elements and calculation of the formula has been subject to a number of pieces of research (for example, Thomas, 1991 and 1990 Coopers and Lybrand Deloitte, 1992, Levacic, 1992). However, there is little research which has examined the issues of social deprivation and the additional educational needs element of formula funding. And in the main such research has focused on special educational need rather than wider issues of additional educational needs (for example Lee 1990 and 1992, Vincent, Evans, Lunt and Young, 1994)

In contrast, Westminster's formula specifically targets 'language other than English' alongwith entitlement to free school meals and homelessness⁸⁴. Hammersmith and Fulham (a Labour controlled Authority), continued with the elements which constituted ILEA's Educational Priority Index.

As is the case nationally⁸⁵, there was a wide variation between the value of age-weighted pupil units in different inner London local education authorities. As Table 1 below shows the most recent figures available based on the Section 122 budget statements submitted by inner London LEAs for the financial year 1998/99 show a wide degree of variation within the inner London boroughs. For the purpose of comparison, the table shows the value of the age-weighted pupil unit for a seven-year-old or year 3 pupil. For the majority of local management schemes, this AWPU is weighted at one.

Table 1

Inner London local education authority	Value of year 3 AWPU
Greenwich	£1,351
Wandsworth	£1,418
Hammersmith & Fulham	£1,504

⁸⁴ This raises an interesting point in terms of Westminster's approach to 'equal opportunities' in its Education Development Plan (section 4) and its relationship with local management funding. The Development Plan emphasised the acquisition of English as critical to its equalities approach whilst the scheme allocated a small amount of funding on the basis of languages other than English.

⁸⁵ The differential amounts received by schools for the same aged pupil across the different local education authorities has been subject to much national debate. In particular, concern has been expressed about the different levels of funding given to pupils in their last year of primary school compared to their first year at secondary school (cf. House of Commons Committee on Education, 1994).

Inner London local education authority	Value of year 3 AWPU
Southwark	£1,575
Islington	£1,619
Westminster	£1,622
Lambeth	£1,754
Kensington & Chelsea	£1,900
Lewisham	No information available
Camden	No information available
Hackney	No information available
Tower Hamlets	No information available
City of London	Only one school, information not applicable

Source: 1988 Section 122 Budget Statements

There is, then, a £600 difference in the value of an age weighted year 3 pupil in Kensington and Chelsea as compared with Greenwich. Some of this may be accounted for in the different approaches to delegation in different boroughs and the particular decisions taken by councils about the overall level of spending on education and the elements of expenditure which were centrally retained. In particular, the Age Weighted Pupil Unit in one borough may contain higher levels of

funding for 'buy back' services then another. Such information is not given in the Section 122 statements⁸⁶.

However it is important to note that as Table 2 shows there is no direct correlation between the level of delegation and the value of an age-weighted pupil unit.

Table 2

Inner London local education authority	Percentage of potential schools budget delegated
Greenwich	94.36
Wandsworth	91.87
Hammersmith & Fulham	92.05
Southwark	88.7
Islington	No information available
Westminster	89.86
Lambeth	90.88
Kensington & Chelsea	89.91
Lewisham	No information available
Camden	No information available
Hackney	No information available

⁸⁶ Under the Fair Funding regime which will operate from 1 April 1999, local education authorities will be required to publish in more detail the different elements that make up a schools individual allocation as well as the amount centrally retained (insert reference).

Inner London local education authority Percentage of potential schools budget delegated	
Tower Hamlets	No information available
City of London	No information available

Source: 1998 Section 122 Budget Statements

The different funding of schools in different inner London boroughs highlights issues concerning the specific funding policy of the Inner London Education Authority and is likely to be a reflection of political decisions at a local level. As shown in section 4, the ILEA acted as a mechanism for redistributing resources from the wealthier boroughs such as Westminster and Wandsworth to poorer boroughs such as Tower Hamlets.⁸⁷

5.6. The construction of the Age Weighted Pupil Unit

Although there has been a national debate about the comparison of levels of school funding across different authorities⁸⁸, there has been little research which examines the ideological construction of the concept of the 'pupil units'. The concept of 'pupil units' highlights two key aspects of the ideology underpinning local management of schools. Firstly, as stated earlier, there is an overt attempt to introduce the workings of the market into the arena of education. 'Pupil units' attract

⁸⁷ Appendix 5 gives a sample set of information for each of the inner London boroughs on the levels of delegation and the age-weighted pupil units.

⁸⁸ For example see House of Commons Committee on Education, 1994, Edwards, 1992, Thomas, 1990

funds, indeed they provide the basis for the amount of money available for a school. Schools will thus become dependent on ensuring that they can recruit sufficient pupils to allow the school to continue (or expand) its level of funding. It was part of the thinking behind LMS that 'good' schools (i.e. schools that can attract pupils) will be able to gain from formula funding whilst 'bad' schools will lose. School governing bodies will increasingly be under pressure to compete for 'good' pupils in the education market. *The focus on finance within local management has major implications for 'equal opportunities' and state education.* With state education under-resourced, the aim of many governing bodies is to raise the amount of resources available to the school (Maychell, 1994).⁸⁹

Secondly, the concept of a 'pupil unit' introduces a notion of homogeneity about the pupil population. Pupils are seen as in some ways uniform characters who will all benefit equally from the National Curriculum. The research which has emphasised the role of gender, 'race' and class in structuring educational experience is overlooked, since each pupil will command a certain amount of funds. Obviously the aim of the National Curriculum is that all pupils receive a similar curriculum, so it is therefore logical that the delivery of this curriculum will require similar resources. This is clearly seen in the continuing debate over the difference between primary and secondary weightings (House of Commons, Education Committee, 1994).

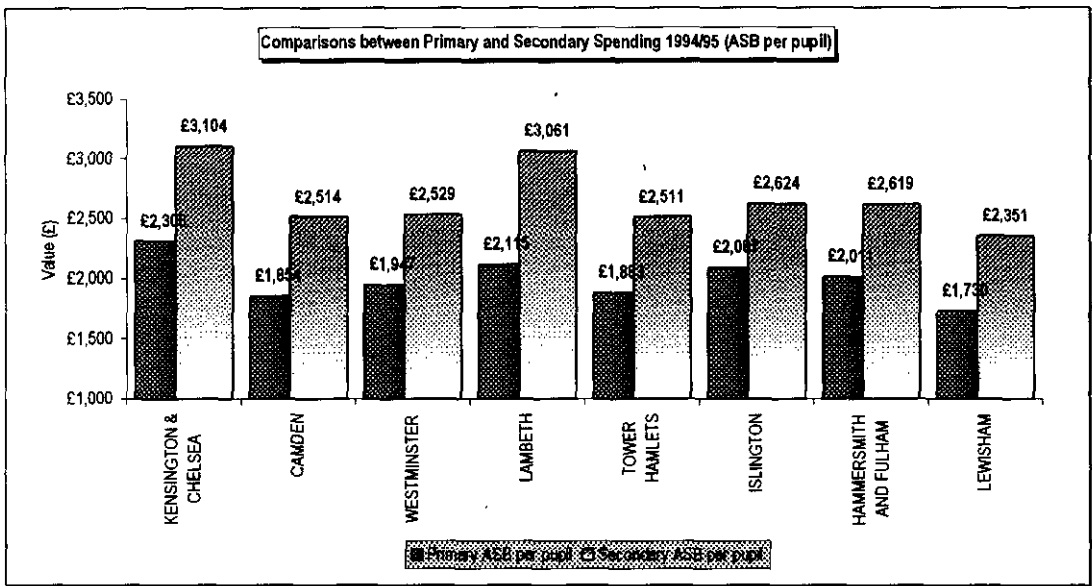
As stated earlier, most local education authority local management schemes have allocated a lower weighting to primary as against secondary pupils and many in the primary sector are arguing for an

⁸⁹ The effects of local management on the role of governors is examined in more detail in the next section

equivalent weighting for primary pupils. If the funding attracted by each pupil unit is defined as being sufficient to deliver the National Curriculum, why should this cost more in secondary schools?

The situation is similar in the inner London authorities where there continues to be a clear differential between the funding attracted by primary aged pupil units and their counterparts in the secondary sector. The chart below shows the aggregated schools budget per primary and secondary pupils in the financial year 1994/95 in the inner London boroughs. The ASB per pupil takes into account the total amounts delegated to the primary and secondary sector and therefore provides a more accurate picture of the amount of resources available in each sector than the a comparison of the age-weighted pupil unit.

Chart 1



Thus the concept of 'pupil units' shifts the focus of educational debate by erasing any class, 'race' or gender differences between pupils who become identical 'raw material' bringing a certain amount

of resources, ready to be converted by the educational production line into National Curriculum achievers.

Importantly this one-dimension concept of a pupil without class, gender or 'race', which underlies the construction of a 'pupil unit', has effects on the allocation of funds to meet special educational need. Through the concept of a 'pupil unit', the definition and construction of a pupil is narrowed. There are in essence two types of pupils - those who attract the 'normal' level of funding (and are therefore seen as able to achieve in schools without additional resources) and the 'others'. The allocation of resources for special need is derived from the remaining 25% given to schools but not allocated according to AWPUs. Not all of these resources are allocated for special needs since they can cover a number of other schools costs, such as small schools allowances. However, where there is an element for special education need there is already a wide variation across authorities both in the definition of special needs and in the amounts allocated to schools (Lee, 1991 and 1990). Moreover, there is the inference that 'special needs' are an extra on top of the 'normal' pupil allocation. Pupils are thus seen as without gender, 'race' or class, although they may (occasionally) have 'special needs'.

This categorisation and construction of both a 'pupil unit' and special need becomes all the more important when the factors used to allocate for special needs are taken into account. Many local education authorities have used 'free school meals' as the primary means for allocating extra resources. As Lee (1990, 1992) has pointed out there are a number of problems associated with using free school meals as an index of need (particularly in local education authorities where it is measured on the basis of 'take-up rather than eligibility'). The incidence of free school meals is

primarily a measure of social disadvantage rather than educational disadvantage. The inner London borough's local management of schools schemes have reflected this diversity and the needs of pupil population through different approaches to the additional educational needs element of the formula as shown above.

The comparison of the LMS schemes indicates that for individual schools the way the LEA chooses to define and measure pupils social/educational disadvantage and needs may have considerable resource implications.

(Sammons, P., 1991, p.29)

Of equal concern is the recent evidence that LMS has provided a disincentive to the integration of students with special needs into mainstream education (Fullick, 1991b). With the emphasis placed on 'quality products' (i.e. pupils) who are able to achieve the appropriate success in the National Curriculum (without costing the school too much!), schools will not be keen to enrol pupils who may be expensive and not add to the school's position in the local league table. In essence:

The 'market forces' approach of the 1988 Education Act with its emphasis on individual schools' responsibilities, completion and "success", does not sit easily alongside the 1981 Act with its emphasis on individual children's needs...(Cooke, 1990, p.267)

As stated earlier, the formula-funding component of LMS introduced the principle of market forces into education. In terms of 'equal opportunities', this has limited the ability of local education authorities to hold central resources to initiate 'equal opportunities' policies, and has also limited the

development of more radical visions which seek to challenge sexism and racism at the centre of education and to replace them with notions of social justice (cf. Arnot, David and Weiner, 1996)

The policy of local management of schools represented one of the cornerstones of the changes introduced by the 1988 Education Reform Act. This Act sought to explicitly renegotiate the relationships between central and local government, schools and local authorities and parents and governors. Integral to the Act was a model of education that rested on a specific conception of the current construction of schools, parents, and local education authorities. Schools were seen as being dictated to by a central bureaucratic agency unresponsive to the needs and wishes of local parents and pupils. The Reform Act sought to redefine these models and in the case of the policy of grant maintained schools to break the relationship between local authority and schools.

5.7. LMS tensions, contradictions and quandaries

As stated earlier the reforms of the late 1980s had the explicit purpose of shifting the perceived balance of power between local and central government. Along with educational reforms, other legislation⁹⁰ changed the relationship between local authorities and central government. Local authorities saw an increasing diminishing of their powers as well as a reduction in their ability to raise local expenditure through the process known as 'capping'. These changes therefore provide the context in which the interviews were conducted.

As a result of the political framework in which local government exists, interviewees were often extremely explicit in their views of the political rationale for the introduction of local management. Headteachers, governors and local government officers, all saw LMS as part of the move away from local authority control of education and as part of the process of changing the relationships between central and local government.

For some this was mainly due to the party political control of local authorities: With a Conservative Government at Westminster, Labour local authorities were seen to represent an obstacle to the changes that this government sought to introduce. LMS was seen as another attack on Labour authorities. Given the predominance of Labour controlled authorities in inner London (ten out of twelve, excluding the City of London in 1990), there can be seen to have specific implications for the inner London authorities. Hence, the rationale given by one interviewee for the introduction of local management:

The cynical view (again) is that it takes power away from local authorities and it obviously does that, and the reasoning, I mean there's the cynic that it could be that control from local authorities cos (sic) the majority of them are Labour controlled anyhow. (Officer 1)

For others the political control of the authority was less important than the wider issue of decreasing the power of local authorities as a whole and changing the structure and role of local government:

⁹⁰ For example, the 1988 Local Government Act introduced 'compulsory competitive tendering' whereby council services were put out to tender and councils were under an obligation to accept the lowest tender.

Well at a political level it is about the break up of local authorities, there's no doubt about that, and to make them ... I mean in America, well Cambridge - the Education Committee meets four times a year, that's all. In America you've got the same sort of thing. In fact in some states in America they only meet once a year to renew the contracts with a service so it's all there is a service to do this, there is a service to do that. (Officer 3)

For others the question was neither the political control of local authorities nor the changing structure of authorities: the crucial issue was the role of authorities as a power base in conflict with central government:

I think politically the advantages from the philosophy of the government is that it actually undermines the power base of the local authorities and ultimately that's what the major ultimate imperative is undermining the political power base of local authorities. (Officer 5)

The 'Thatcherite' reforms of the 1980s were based on a critique of the welfare state which saw it as creating a dependency culture and, increasingly too expensive. Local government was seen within this model as 'wasting' resources. For interviewees, the rationale for local management also included a means for controlling public expenditure on education. Some interviewees had seen the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority in this light. Local management was seen by some as part of this cost-cutting exercise. At the level of political rhetoric, local authorities were cast as profligate 'baddies' in a way of casting the local authority as the 'baddy' whilst central

government introduced reforms which gave power and resources to local communities to spend more appropriately:

So you move it away from that it take away the power and it also reduces the amount of money spent on local government and removes a tier, or a layer of local government so the community charge as it is now goes down there's also some knock on effects, a lot of it then has to be paid through direct tax, taxation, is not highlighted but it sort of fits in with the present philosophy of well sort of knock local government take away their powers their supposed to be there to empower rather than to manage services. (Officer 3)

5.8. A new era for local education authorities? 'I believe the local authority is a planner, a monitor, its not a deliverer'

The renegotiation of relationships between central and local government, between schools and local education authorities and between parents and schools provided the impetus to a change in the structure of local authorities. This restructuring of the relationships between national and local government and the transfer of powers away from local authorities to central government and other agencies has had implications for the structure and role of local education authorities. In terms of the structure of the education departments, local management had acted as the lever by which departments were decreased in size. Moreover, the introduction of LMS with its consequent delegation of services to schools had produced an impetus to the establishment of business units within authorities and to change the role and focus of local education authorities (Audit Commission, 1989, 1998b).

The new role of the 'empowering' local authority provided another rationale for the introduction of LMS. The structure and role of local government was seen to be under the microscope leading to a renegotiation of the respective roles of central and local government. For interviewees this had led to a change in the structure of their own local authority. For some this had meant large-scale redundancies (which were seen to be part and parcel of LMS), for others it meant a change in the focus and culture of their authority

There was always a realisation that the department would need to be restructured re-organised in terms of LMS, and the long term plans would be to get that in place for when LMS came in for real. Because we were overtaken by events we ended with, the department was restructured this year, in March and April, a year that was unplanned in the fact that it came a year earlier and basically its been re-planned on an LMS type situation as if LMS was already operating. Therefore a third of the staff were went when the department was reduced by a third, and we've been re-organised and got different titles and different responsibilities, and what. And so the problem being is that we are still preparing for local management but we have got the staffing structure for as if local management had taken place. (Officer 1)

Another officer drew attention to the implications for local education authorities in terms of negotiating the new role with schools and the issue of local democratic control:

For the LEA the disadvantages are we have to be much more competitive and we've not got that kind of culture and its going to take a long time to get it, and we haven't got much time. We can't impose our policies on schools I mean that could be looked at as a good thing, but on the other hand it does take some local democracy out of what's happening and takes away the role of locally elected members. (Officer 2)

At the same time the process of delegating resources to schools which is central to local management forced the introduction of services which could be 'bought back' by schools⁹¹. The disaggregation of central budgets which this required dictated the creation of separate distinct 'business units' within authorities and the development of service level agreement. The effect of this was to bring more market-orientated practices and private sector values within the remit of local education authorities.

With school governing bodies in the driving seat of determining which authority services they 'bought back' and which they did not, schools were cast in the role of 'customer' determining which services (and staff) should remain financially viable. In the end the process of delegation and the very decentralised form of decision making which was seen to be a championed part of local management has the potential to undermine local democracy itself:

⁹¹ It is worth noting that services, which had been delegated to schools, were specifically excluded from compulsory competitive tendering. However, it is clear that such services will be subject to the best value regime to be introduced to local authorities by the new Labour government from 2002.

I now think that we have got to be worried from the other end, because if you actually do delegate everything then there is actually not a lot of reason for the schools to actually belong to the LEA, so you might actually by pursuing delegation at a fast pace in order to encourage schools not to delegate, you might actually be doing the exact opposite. (Officer 5)

Furthermore the introduction of delegated services and the calling of the shots by governing bodies was seen not only to determine the structure of role of a specific local education authority but also to affect the relationships between authorities. With schools having the power to purchase services directly there was further pressure on the LEA to provide appropriate service:

I think that what they're doing is they are putting up the boundaries and looking to provide the services in their areas the priority and I think that because its financial pressure a lot of it, even though its sometimes said to be others that their not looking at this co-operation, I think that they will co-operate in ideas perhaps but not in joint finances. I think that what can happen is that competition can start up because with LMS you delegate money for services will schools look to the borough across the borough boundaries or outside inner London, like where we are will they look to Croydon, for those sort of services, and also will Lea's try and offer services to other boroughs I think the potential is there as you delegate the money and you want to actual survive or your service to survive and if not all of your schools are going to buy into it, temptation is to market it across. (Officer 1)

For one officer all these strands: the reduction of the power of local government, the emphasis on the decreasing public expenditure and the delegation of levels of decision making, all had their role to play in the introduction of LMS:

I think two things, I think its part of a wider move within industrialised countries in relation to business localisation, so I think there is a need if you look at local industries and businesses that you'll find a move to greater delegation of management to the actual quality of operation, within the climate of the work groups... and there's a whole background of research which indicates that by doing that you'll increase efficiency, you raise information style and so on. I think there's that whole background as of to new ways of managing which I think is very valid, I think that that is correct that that should be bought in and if you like that as a positive side local management I think it was also a part of a long term political strategy which is essential to shift the balance between local government and central government even further towards local management and I think now that it is very clear that there's a long term strategy by the Tories to remove education from local authorities, I think therefore local management played a role in that in that they could weaken local authorities, while at the same time be seen to be promoting towards greater involvement on local communities... which I think is quite convenient. I think they mobilised other interest groups... so essentially they were able to use it to mobilise various forces on their side against local education authorities. I think we will then see probably some reversal of local control of education and I think what they will do will be that they will start to weaken... and essentially what we will then have will be in a sense

revert back to the old system where heads operated and had most of the power in schools and the LEA will be replaced. (Officer 4)

Whilst a number of the interviewees highlighted the changes that local management would bring in terms of the structure and role of local education authorities, for others these changes presented LEAs with a precarious future. Given the tensions that exist in the pressure of delegation and the impact on the continued role and structure of local education authorities, it is interesting to note that interviewees continued to hold a mixture of views about the future for LEAs and local government generally. Central to these views were the need for a locally elected body retaining a planning and monitoring role as distinct from the role of service delivery that had previously been crucial to the role of the LEA. In some cases this included an acceptance of the model of the LEA as 'incompetent' in the area of service delivery and the need to move to a more strategic model for the future:

Well, the only thing that really worries me is open enrolment and opting out because I think that negates the role of the local education authority. And if I were in a Labour government I would come in, I would cancel open enrolment, I would cancel opting out, I would cancel CCT and I would cancel governing bodies being able to fix the rates of pay for staff. I would leave most other things the same, but I would tinker with SATs and the national curriculum and things, but that's what I would do immediately, because I think that negates the role of the local education authority. It does not enable it to plan and it must be a planner of public provision and it must be a monitorer. Watching people trying to do administration in this building and watching them do it badly, I am convinced

it's not the right thing, because we haven't got good enough people in local authorities to do it. And it may be because they they're young, they're inexperienced like I am. I'm sure I'm just as bad as anyone else, but we're trying to do a job which we cannot do and it's money which we're wasting which could be better spent in schools on young people, so why continue to try and do it? Providing we retain the planning role and the monitoring role because I think that's very important. (Officer 3)

For another officer a contrasting role was put. Here the model is one which sees a need for planning and organisation to negate the role of the market and to ensure a degree of regulation as well as local education authorities as a support mechanism for schools placed between the school and central government:

Well I think, it could have a role, I think somebody, somewhere, has got to do that planning and co-ordination otherwise you could have schools opening and closing all over the place, and unless someone actually does that you also are there to provide advice and guidance and those schools sometimes deny the conflict about what we do but whenever there's a crisis they still go to the Leas and got that guidance and I think that there is a role for that, because I think that its an enormous burden on schools to actually work everything out for themselves, especially if you look at small primary schools who don't have the staff and the resources to do it, or otherwise they just have to deal directly with the DES, and there's no-one in the centre trying to organise and manage and no-one, an LEA has the opportunity of actually getting to know its schools and

institutions personally, whereas a large organisation on a national basis would never do that so, all right you're confined within the rules and how you can fund schools whatever, but you've got people there who actually can advise schools from knowledge of the schools and actually have been involved and work, and I think that that's an important role leas could have. (Officer 1)

Given the views of the interviewees as expressed in earlier sections, it is interesting to note that a number of interviewees supported the transfer of powers away from local education authorities to the level of schools. Some highlighted the distance they felt from the new local education authority as compared to the closeness they felt to the ILEA. Moreover, given the climate of reductions in education expenditure which were seen as part of local management, it was argued by one local government officer that decisions over expenditure should not be taken in the 'town hall'. For this local government officer, this had a particular personal aspect in terms of her own career and position in the authority:

I think it's a great pity that LMS is cut, but I would far rather be making the decisions at a school level than have the nerds up here making the decisions, I mean really, honestly, they don't know about the schools. My boss, whose office is next door, when I came here I said, "I'm going to spend the first month visiting schools," He said, " you're not to do that, it will show me up". I haven't visited a single school since I've been here. Why should he make the cuts about young people's education? (Officer 3)

5.9. Questions of choice and diversity

Although the introduction of local management was seen in the main as a politically motivated mechanism for redefining the role of central and local government and as a means of introducing more market orientated practice into local education authorities, it is interesting to note that all the interviewees saw advantages to the delegation of financial and other forms of power to school governing bodies. Although LMS was seen to disadvantage local authorities, advantages were to be had in the involvement of local communities, the ability to take decisions at a more local level and in providing an impetus for a changed role for the local education authority. When asked about the advantages of LMS, interviewees emphasised notions of choice and openness and the need for local decision making. Indeed, for one officer this was key to the introduction of local management:

Some theory about actually involving people more which I think would have a broader support in actually involving people who are making decisions locally, and I think that there's been a trend in more Labour party politics as well as Conservative on devolution, and the better sides being that people who are in institutions are having more power to control things and not have to go through petty rules. I think that in some ways that that's the good side of it (Officer 1)

Also central to the argument advancing the advantages of local management was the notion of choice. LMS was seen as means of expanding choice: choice for schools over what they spent their budgets on, choice for parents. This notion of choice was seen as a 'good thing' per se:

In practical terms local management in schools should make more people interested in education because you can see the choices that are open to you, and if you can see choices.... Its like just like the governing bodies, people are

saying 'I'm interested in becoming a governor now because I can make real choices, and if you can get parents to be involved in making real choices then there's a reason to stick around... (Officer 3)

In some cases this was seen as particularly attractive given the bureaucracy of local authorities. For some interviewees, LMS provided the opportunity for schools to make sensitive local decisions in a way that those in the town hall could not.

I would far rather be making the decisions at school level than have the nerds up here making the decisions, I mean, honestly, they don't know the first thing about schools. (Officer 3)

And for another:

I think it gets rid of an awful lot of the rubbish that LEAs do. There are something's that its patently obvious that schools do better and could do better, than the LEA does, and gets rid of some of the bureaucracy. It does give more power to schools which I think is good although perhaps it needs more safeguards, for example in personnel, I think there needs to be more safeguards than the basic law, particularly in an authority like this which is strongly for equal opportunities, I don't think the law as it stands on its own is enough to protect that. I think it could and will eliminate waste, I mean already we can see that, On our maintenance costs all of that has been held at the centre at the moment and we pay the bills and schools are limited in what they can order, but we pay the

DLO. Once they realise that they are going to be charged for day-to-day maintenance, they wanted to see the costs and when they saw the DLO costs they went mad, and we've now reached an agreement with them but before that they didn't care, they didn't worry, the same with supply. We pay for supply, so they just keep ordering it. (Officer 2)

Coupled with this desire to ensure that decisions were made at the local level of the school, was an emphasis on 'openness'. Local management was seen as part of a wider mechanism whereby information was openly available and that decisions were not made 'behind closed doors'. This was something explicitly referred to by one interviewee:

You see, it's funny because you can look through a thread in my life and it's always been about openness and about dialogue and giving people information which helps them to do their job or their life or whatever better. So local management suits me down to the ground because it is about being open.
(Officer 3)

This emphasis on the reduction of bureaucracy and the role of local education authorities as strategic planners and monitors of services had its implications for headteachers and governors. In contrast to the view taken by local government officers, governors were at pains to stress the difficulties encountered with local education authorities who had changed their role. For one governor this was particularly critical in the area of personnel:

Well Camden's always prided itself (with what justification I'm not sure) on having a very slimmed down education authority which I s'pose in some respects – its been a pain in the neck actually because they've never had enough people in personnel and there have been all sorts of problems ranging from people's salaries and how they were being paid at the start of abolition right through to issues now about disciplinary procedures which they're just not able to deal with so um that's always been a problem. (Governor 1)

Although the concept of choice was used by interviewees, there was also seen to be a tension in this and the availability of resources. Given the limitations of local government finances and the decreasing resources made available to local education authorities from central government, there were limits to the range of 'choices' that school governing bodies could make. In reality, the majority of the schools budget would be spend on staffing, leaving little room to manoeuvre with the cost of cutting jobs. Although this was a point highlighted by comments from governors and headteachers, for local government officers this complicated the process of delegating power to schools.

There was this fallacy that everyone believed if they controlled their budgets that they would never get into this mess and it was all Authority's fault, they wouldn't appreciate that fact that even the delegated budgets, that if Authority actually reduced resources they'd have to make the nasty decisions on staffing, whether to dismiss staff or reduce staff, rather than the authority, so we got caught up in that, and we also got an awful lot of criticism that Authority which were nothing to do with LMS and we were defending Authority on lots of fronts. (Officer 1)

For one headteacher the issues of funding schools and local management were intertwined. For this headteacher the diminishing funds threatened the authority's ability to support schools and made the issue of the long term viability of LEAs critical.

We were never involved with the LEA under ILEA – everything was done through divisional office. LEAs will be non-existent very soon, schools will go for GM status since LEAs won't have the funding to support the appropriate SLAs. There isn't money coming from central government to support LEAs in terms of supporting schools. (Headteacher 1)

5.10. **Competition and choice: questions of power:**

The complex and often contradictory approach taken by interviewees to the introduction of local management and the changes in local education authorities highlights the tensions within and between central and local government policies. The emphasis on increasing competition in the sphere of education, albeit between children, between schools or between boroughs is also seen to contain advantages such as local decision making, diversity and choice. The 'rhetoric' of the market being able to give wider choice to all remained in many cases unchallenged and the notion that delegation to a lower more local level was seen as inherently a 'good thing'. Delegation brought with it the benefits of local decision making and a process of 'empowering' schools and their local communities.

For some interviewees the straitjacket of the regulations governing the construction of the LMS formula presented a resourcing problem that arose from what were seen as specific local conditions rather than being inherent in the structure of formula funding. As stated earlier the reduction of pupils to a unit cost through the introduction of an aged weighted pupil unit marginalises issues of gender, 'race' and class. For one interviewee this was clearly raised by the need to construct a resourcing formula within the constraints of circulars issued by central government departments whilst ensuring that the specific needs of the borough were met. When asked what issues were raised during the consultation process, they stated:

I think probably the whole special needs and socio-economic things. I think probably the things like the details of how you account for premises, and so on and so forth, we had all the general things, and I think in this borough there is specific concern that this was a very very special borough where you had over 50% of pupils whose first languages isn't English, a fantastic statistic, and I think how we could sensitively reflect those in the formula, and a lot of the discussions were about that. (Officer 5)

There was also concern expressed that local management may disproportionately affect pupils with special educational needs and that schools would need to ensure that their needs were not overlooked. In this context and given the role of local decision making the role, authority and power of the headteacher and governing body were seen as crucial in the maintenance of any commitment to equal opportunities.

On the children, for the children side the disadvantages, well you have to have a very strong governing body and head and we don't have all of them, they're not

all the same, so if you get a weak head or governing body, they are going to need a lot of support and the cash limits on central admin. mean that we can't keep as much at the centre as we want to wish to support the individual schools that are performing badly. I think that's the main thing because I actually think that LMS is a good thing in general although I suppose some of the individual rules of LMS like the average actual thing, things like that I think will cause problems for certain schools and that will disadvantage them because there will be a change in funding and they won't be able to keep all the funds that they've got at the moment in certain schools and that will be a problem, and it will be traumatic for those particular schools and that will inevitably have a knock on effect for the children. (Officer 2)

The specific implications of the abolition of ILEA and the implications of local management were referred to by two of the interviewees as having implications for the continuance of work around equal opportunities. In particular, one officer was concerned that in the context of declining budgets the removal of the support mechanisms that ILEA had put in place may lead to higher redundancies for low paid part time women workers.

Primary helpers, well their jobs must be at risk. Interestingly, when you're having an off the record talk with headteachers and you say where would you make savings which you would redirect into the schools, so not where do you think you could make cuts, but if you ask them the next question where would you make savings which you would redirect into the schools, they give you two answers, one is part-time teachers (the .2 and .3) the other one is primary helpers. They do not see them as a good use of resources, and I think if the ILEA had been continued there would have been a way of supporting primary helpers and part

time teachers, which there will not be a way of doing within the borough because the borough is too small. I think ILEA, if it had worked properly would have seen the writing on the wall, would have attempted to retrain them as classroom assistants, licensed teachers, that sort of thing, but there won't be anything from the boroughs and they'll be on the scrap heap. So you're always talking about people on the bottom of the pile so it's young people with special educational needs, part-time, lowly paid women who are suffering, but that's life. That is our society - how could it be otherwise? (Officer 3)

Whilst for another officer the thrust of equal opportunities was put at risk by the competitive nature of the current educational reforms.

For the LEA the disadvantages are we have to be much more competitive and we've not got that kind of culture and its going to take a long time to get it, and we haven't got much time. We can't impose our policies on schools I mean that could be looked at as a good thing, but on the other hand it does take some local democracy out of what's happening and takes away the role of locally elected members, and yes it, on the policy thing, as I mentioned earlier things like equal opps which is very dear to this authorities heart, and I think dear to, because of the make-up of the borough and we could lose some of that. Although it could be said well you know you have to win them around by force of argument rather than making them, rather than force. (Officer 2)

5.11. Conclusion

This section has focused on one element of local management of schools, that of formula funding. It has emphasised the role formula funding has in establishing and creating a market and thereby transforming the relationships between local education authorities and their schools. Using evidence from the inner London context, it has argued that the move to a market in education has had consequences on strategies for social justice within education through the marginalising of equalities issues and the creation of the neutrality of the Age Weighted Pupil Unit. In particular, the section has sought to examine how the national policy, that of formula funding within local management, is shaped in its implementation through the local social and political circumstances of the new inner London local education authorities. Furthermore, it has drawn attention to the complexities of the implementation of local management of schools and the contradictions, which it raises in terms of issues of the future of local education authorities and their relationships with schools.

The next section will focus on the other element of local management of schools which has transformed the educational landscape in inner London: that of devolved management.

6. Schools Out – Management under Local Management

The hard nosed, aggressive, determined qualities assumed to be needed to be an effective financial manager became wrapped up in unquestioned assumptions about masculinity...Crucial to these assumptions is the particular vocabulary which is drawn on to describe both the identity of the sales person and the work of selling, a rhetoric which emphasises the need to be 'aggressive' and 'high performing' to have the confidence to face clients every day and to be able to 'thrust into the market place' and convince people of the need for the product. All these qualities and characteristics are bound up with cultural understandings of the nature of masculinity. (Leonard, 1998, p.75)

6.1. Introduction

As stated in the previous section, the implementation of the policy of local management of schools in inner London significantly altered and redefined the relationships between the local education authority and its schools. Section 5 focused on the way in which local management in general and formula funding in particular provided the mechanism for the establishment of an educational market in inner London and the impact of this in terms of the role of local education authorities. In contrast, this section will focus on the other element of the policy of local management of schools, that of devolved management.

This section is divided into four parts which will explore the issues of devolved management in schools using the analysis from interviewees in addition to the evidence from policy documents and other research. The first section will examine issues surrounding the development of the new forms of management in schools and the particular concerns this raises for issues of social justice and equality. In the second section, the focus will be on an examination of the headteacher as a manager and the views of interviewees on the management of schools under local management. In particular, it will draw attention to the way local management has changed management structures in schools and the implications of this for headteachers, local government officers and governors. The third part will examine the role of school secretaries in terms of interviewees perception of the changing management needs of schools. In particular, it will draw attention to the role of administrators within schools and the impact local management has had on their roles and jobs. Lastly, the section will look at the issue of governors in terms of their relationships with schools, headteachers and the local education authority and their role in managing local management.

6.2. New forms of management in schools

The issue of devolved management was critical to the success of local management. As stated earlier, the move to transfer powers away from local education authorities to the collective body of an individual school governor was an important element in the development of the 'consumerism' of the educational market. The composition of school governing bodies was defined by legislation and specifically included a co-opted business representative, elected parent and teacher governors as well as decreasing the number of local education authority or appointed governors (1986 Education

(No. 2) Act).⁹² The intention behind greater involvement of the business community and parents was part of the political rhetoric which cast the local education authority as bureaucratic, unaccountable, and not responsive. Through parental choice and involvement in school governing bodies, the 'ordinary person' could participate in the choice and diversity of the market.⁹³

*The Government wishes to see the creation of new schools and will be seek to remove barriers that exist to their formation. Patterns of schools that reflect the priorities of local authority planners should be complemented **or replaced by** schools that reflect more widely the wishes and aspirations of parents. Growing diversity in education will be one of the features of the 1990s. (Department for Education, 1992, p.43, my emphasis)*

The 1988 Act consolidated the composition of school governing bodies and gave them wide-ranging new powers through the policy of local management. Under the Act school governing bodies were given a different role which located them as managers of a local site of education. By virtue of the 1988 Education Reform Act and its predecessor the 1986 Education (No. 2) Act, the school governing body became a key player in the way a school is educationally and financially managed. In many ways local management has therefore engineered a movement of power and responsibilities away from elected local councillors and their paid officers to the voluntary workforce of the constituency of governors (Deem, Brehony and Heath, 1995). This has in turn changed the

⁹² The School Standards and Framework Act 1998 will change again the composition of governing bodies from September 1999. These new governing bodies will have greater parent representation and a lower number of local education authority governors.

⁹³For the Conservative Governments, the logical parental choice was seen to be to 'opt out' of local education authority control. Despite the simplification of the process for opting out, grant maintained schools represented a tiny handful of all maintained schools. In 1995, there were just over 1000 grant-maintained schools as compared to 30,000 schools in the maintained sector (Mackinnon, Statham with Hales, 1996).

relationship between the headteacher of any school and both their local education authority and their school governing body (Evetts, 1993).

This changed relationship has changed the role of headteacher and placed them in a critical relationship within the school. In particular, it has led to new forms of managerialism and management structures which have changed the leadership role of the headteacher and led to a concentration on issues of 'school effectiveness' ⁹⁴ and models of management which are not derived from the education sector (Bell, 1991, Halsey, 1993, Dimmock, (ed.) 1993).

The key changes in roles and responsibilities of schools and their governing bodies have become part of the standard introduction of texts on school governing bodies (Woodard, 1996, Gold and Szemerényi, 1997, Horne, (ed.), 1998). In summary, the allocation of roles and responsibilities between headteachers, the school governing body and the local education authority can be shown as follows:

Table 3

Key Areas of Responsibility	Schools	Governing Body	Local Education Authority
Finance	Day to day financial management of the school	To agree and monitor an annual budget in line with the School Development Plan	To determine the overall level of resources for schools through the LMS formula in line with council policy and

⁹⁴ Whitty, Power , Halpin (1998) challenge the notion of school effectiveness and the concept that individual schools can alter the structural inequalities and location which, they argue, shape educational attainment.

Key Areas of Responsibility	Schools	Governing Body	Local Education Authority
			<i>line with council policy and priority</i>
Personnel	Day to day personnel aspects of the school	Determine staffing levels and structures for the school. Select and recruit staff. Determine levels of pay within local and national guidelines.	Develop authority wide personnel policies in consultation with trade unions and other parties.
Curriculum	To deliver the curriculum in line with local and national guidelines	Determine an overall curriculum policy for the school.	Develop an authority wide curriculum policy. To provide support and training to schools in delivering the curriculum.
Special Education Needs	To identify special educational needs and ensure the needs of pupils are met in line with Code of Practice. ⁹⁵	To ensure that the special educational needs are met and that the Code of Practice is implemented	To oversee the implementation of the Code of Practice. To provide assessment and statementing as appropriate.
Parents	To provide information on the school.	To produce an Annual Report to parents.	To monitor and evaluate the performance of the school.

⁹⁵ 1994 Education Act revised schools approaches to the identification and meeting of special education needs through the implementation of a new Code of Practice.

Key Areas of Responsibility	Schools	Governing Body	Local Education Authority
Achievement	To ensure educational achievement through regular assessment and monitoring	To publish school's standard assessment test results in Annual Report to Parents	To collate local information and to provide a support service to schools.

This division of roles and responsibilities places headteachers, school governors and local education authorities in a complex and symbiotic relationship. The authority as planner and monitor of the service may find itself in conflict with the priorities of local schools and governing bodies. For governing bodies, this has led to a lack of clarity about the day to day role of the headteacher and the governing body's role in strategic management.

There are few rules about the function of governing a school in contrast to the mass of regulation about its day to day management.... The national body AGIT (Action for Governor's Information and Training) has estimated that there are over 800 obligations relating to issues such as employment, anti-discrimination, public liability, or other matters indirectly placed on school governing bodies as a result of legislation. The overall effect is a piecemeal, incomplete and sometimes contradictory outline of the relationship between school governance and management. There is a common and continuing problem of identifying where the responsibilities of the governing body and the headteacher meet.

(Walters and Richardson, 1997, p.20)

For governors and headteachers these changes have meant adjustments in terms of the way they work and the type and amount of work they produce. Studies⁹⁶ (particularly those from the headteacher professional associations) have highlighted the additional workload on headteachers brought about by the demands of delegated responsibility. In a piece of research conducted for the National Association of Headteachers, concern was raised about the administration being dealt with by headteachers as a consequence of local management:

The consequence of greater administration is an important general issue about the contemporary role of the head.... Case of head teachers preparing orders is an activity which makes a mockery of the concept of fitness for purpose in matching personnel to suitable tasks, It is a matter of concern: either insufficient resources are available to small schools to be properly administered or there are head teachers who need further support and staff development if they are to undertake their role to best effect. (Thomas and Bullock, 1994, p.20)

6.3. Who are the teachers? Who are the managers?

It is a truism to say that teaching is a predominantly female profession and that in education as a whole the overwhelming majority of the workforce are women. However, despite the numbers of women in the education workforce, the management of education is almost exclusively male. Women are predominantly on the lower scales in teaching and are less likely to have positions of responsibility as compared with their male counterparts. There is, in fact, an inverse correlation between the status, pay, and grade of teachers and/or managers and gender. At the top end of the

⁹⁶ For example, Secondary Heads Association, 1992,

educational hierarchy there are a tiny number of women as compared with their overall percentage of the workforce (Ouston, (ed.), 1993, Ozga, (ed.) 1993, Mackinnon, Hales with Statham, 1996)

Education reflects the rest of the labour market where women are conspicuous by their absence in management posts. This is particularly the case in primary schools, where despite the over-representation of women as teachers, they are under-represented at the level of headteacher in comparison to their proportion of the profession:

The proportion of heads (and therefore the chance of becoming one) was higher in primary education, where there are many more, smaller schools. Differences in the sexes were very noticeable in both sectors. Particularly striking were the much higher percentage of men than of women who were heads, and the much higher percentage of women than of men who were on the lowest two scales, compared with the total number of men and women in all posts taken together. These discrepancies existed in both the primary and the secondary sector, but were especially marked in the primary. (Mackinnon, Statham with Hales, 1996, p.120)

Not only is teaching a predominantly female profession, it is also a predominantly 'white'⁹⁷ profession (Clark, 1990, Burton, 1993, Mackinnon, Statham and Hales, 1996). Figures from the Department for Education (DfE) point to the low numbers of Black people entering teaching (DfE, 1993) and whilst other research has highlighted the handful of Black headteachers across the

⁹⁷ I have used the term 'white' to denote those groups who are not oppressed on the ground of their 'race'.

country (Local Government Training Board, 1991)⁹⁸. Where there are Black teachers they tend to dominate the lower echelons of pay and responsibilities and have greater difficulty in being promoted than their white counterparts:

Non-white teachers tend to be older, disproportionately grouped in the lower two grades, less likely to gain promotion before leaving their first school, half as likely to be encouraged to apply for promotion, have an eighth of a chance of successfully applying for in-service training and make more job applications.

(Burton, 1993, p. 281)

Again, this pre-existing educational hierarchy, structured along the lines of class, 'race' and gender inequalities, provides the framework within which the emphasis on financial and personnel management of devolved management is projected. Local management has further crystallised the already existing divide between those who are 'teachers' and perform tasks of classroom management and those who are 'managers' who perform the tasks of managing the school. For these two groups this division is reflected not only in terms of their respective workloads, but in terms of their pay, responsibilities and their gender (LGTB, 1991). This has had an impact on those teachers who are not involved in the senior management structures of the school counter to the argument that local management was about 'empowering' schools:

However, the impact on many non-senior teachers has been to enhance their sense of exclusion from their working situation. In this sense the notion of self-

⁹⁸ It is worth noting that the Department for Education and Employment no longer collect ethnicity and gender data on teachers or pupils. Therefore it is difficult to gauge the long-term impact of LMS on the recruitment of women and men headteachers.

determination only applies to a rather small section of the school's teacher.

(Bowe, Ball, with Gold (1992), pp. 70-71)

Although (some) statistics are available on the numbers of women teachers and their salaries, there is little information about the role of others who play a vital part in schools as an organisation. A whole range of other staff are involved in ensuring the day-to-day running of the school. It is likely that the gender divisions among teachers (particularly between headteachers and classroom teachers) are also reflected in the distinctions between different grades of support staff. In most schools the technicians and premises officers (school caretakers) tend to be in salaried grades and are, almost exclusively, men; however, primary helpers, cleaners, midday supervisors and administrative staff are predominantly women on part-time, sometimes hourly paid wages.

Therefore, women although constituting the majority of the education workforce are not managers. Women throughout the education service predominate in positions at the lower end of the teaching scale and as support staff in part-time low paid jobs. Black women are almost absent from teaching and face discrimination and prejudice when it comes to moving into management positions. Consequently, even without the measures introduced by the Reform Act, it would be true to argue the education managers are white and male.

The over-representation of white men as educational managers begs a number of questions. Beyond those which tend towards biological determinism by seeing women as 'unable' to be managers due to their childbearing responsibilities and men as having the appropriate

psychological 'makeup' to 'manage', there are issues concerning the definition of management itself and the organisational structures which deter women from entering management.

Where women have entered into management positions in education, there is some evidence that they have a different style of management to men (Neville, 1988, Ozga, 1993, Blackmore, 1996). Women are seen as more likely to develop management styles based on co-operation, team working and non-hierarchical approaches, whereas men are seen as tending towards styles of management centred in more autocratic, leadership focused and hierarchical styles. Some researchers and writers have argued that the more 'feminine' form of management is more appropriate to educational management (despite the dominance of male managers) whilst the cumulative effects of the provisions of the 1988 Education Reform Act are likely to pressure schools towards more 'masculine' forms of management. This is in contrast to the Department for Education report which examined effective management in schools, one of the elements of a well-managed school is when:

Women deputies are not assigned traditional female responsibilities and, in primary schools, the proportion of women on the staff is reflected in the number of managerial positions held by women. (Department for Education, 1993, p. 42)

What is more remarkable given the recognition of the numbers of women in the teaching profession and their overrepresentation at primary level, is that this is the only reference to gender in any form throughout the Department for Education document. Indeed, there is evidence that local management and the 'culture of the market' has further entrenched masculine cultures and

approaches within both schools and the local education authority (Limerick and Linguard (eds.), 1995, Leonard, 1988).

One of the most worrying features to emerge from the research has been the evident continuing dominance of white male cultures in school and LEA hierarchies. (Arnot, David and Weiner, 1996, p.133)

6.4. The headteacher as manager – if they can't manage a tin pot budget...

This move to management at the local level of the school is local management. The move to locally based forms of management have generated an ever growing supply of articles and books on the 'self-managing' school, 'school effectiveness', educational performance indicators, value for money and financial and personnel management in schools⁹⁹.

This growth in concern with managing the school as an organisation, is one of the results of the measures contained in the Reform Act. This Act had as one of its key aims a transformation of what 'good management' in education meant and in particular emphasised a role of school management which was not focused on curriculum knowledge and leadership or knowledge of teaching and learning but that stressed the role of financial and personnel management. Much of the research, writing and management guides focus on the practical application of these new management techniques. As stated above, this emphasis on financial and personnel issues has tended to marginalise any discussion of equal opportunities issues (Arnot, David and Weiner,

⁹⁹ For a critical evaluation of the concept of self-management see Smythe, 1993. For a critical approach to school effectiveness see Whitty, Power and Halpin 1998.

1996). In addition, the introduction of these new forms of devolved management into the state education sector has had a specific impact in terms of the wider social context of schooling and the specific gender, 'race' and class of those involved in education (Hall, 1996).

It is interesting to note that despite the personnel responsibilities that schools were given under local management, it was the financial aspects, the setting of the budgets and the management of money and resources which was referred to when interviewees were questioned about local management. One of the reasons for this is likely to be the decrease in resources to education, which occurred in some boroughs as a result of ILEA's abolition and in some boroughs at the same time as the new inner London local education authorities were established. One local government officer emphasised the particular financial difficulties that this had presented to the newly formed education departments.¹⁰⁰

Well, I think there has been, there's definitely been a decrease in resources, and I mean from Lambeth's point of view what's happened here is because its (education) part of Lambeth Council. The crisis that happened this year was nothing to do with the education budget or anything that had not been managed properly or whatever, what they discovered because of Lambeth's long term problems of £20 million pounds worth of debts which was due to the centre of the Council before education was ever transferred and yet because of the speed in which reductions had to be made they actually raided the education budget to make up some of that money... (Officer 1)

¹⁰⁰ Hammersmith and Fulham and Islington both experienced similar problems since the Council's they transferred to had raised revenue by virtue of the practice of 'loan swapping', that is investing on the stock exchange.

The local context of the introduction of local management coming as it did at the same time as the abolition of ILEA provided a particular focus for one headteacher. Here there is a contrast between the comfort and security of the ILEA 'family' as described in section 4, and the new regime of local management and its more aggressive market orientation

...and there was a culture shock from the end of the ILEA of course because you know, we'd all been nurtured and loved and told we were the greatest thing and it was a bit of a surprise to find ourselves in the firing line. (Headteacher 5)

This was particularly the case for headteachers, one of whom saw local management as purely about an attack on headteachers themselves. In answer to the question, what is local management about, they replied:

It's about making headteachers work harder. In theory it's a good idea, but in practice schools don't get enough money. Once the money goes on staffing and essentials there's nothing left.... It has meant a lot of work. At least 70% of the time is spent doing budget work, filling in forms worrying – I sometimes sit for 20 minutes just worrying about whether or not we've got enough money to employ staff. We're appointing a deputy headteacher and I'm worried we won't have enough money left to employ a teacher. I'm not an accountant. Yet, I'm still a headmaster. (Headteacher, 1)

The emphasis on the amount of work and the levels of stress this had caused was the case for all headteachers and reflects the findings of other research (Bullock, Thomas and Arnott, 1993,

Maychell, 1994). However, for one headteacher the development of the budget had been used a means to involve members of staff, but, interestingly not governors:

We did the budget together – what I mean is all of the senior management team were involved and then we took it to all the staff. Governors didn't really play a role in it but I s'pose in future we will need to involve them more. (Headteacher, 4)

In terms of the interviewees, there was a contrast between the views of local government officers who were more optimistic about the role and abilities of headteachers as managers and the experience and views of the governors and the headteachers themselves. Moreover, one local government officer saw local management as a spur to increase the quality of managers at school level and as a mechanism for increasing the remuneration of 'good' headteachers:

I hope we get better headteachers as a result of it - better managers. They need to have a better view of themselves and outside there needs to be a better view. The good ones are grossly underpaid and I'm sorry that that's been brought in that they'll get paid better if the governing bodies decide rather than if the government decides - the government should decide to pay them properly. (Officer 3)

For one local government officer there was a link between the role of headteacher as an educational leader and their ability to manage the budget similar to that argued by proponents of self managing schools (for example, Caldwell and Spinks, 1998). Here there is a direct link of the

funding elements of local management, the shifts to devolved management and the role of headteachers as financial managers and educational leaders:

.. If they can't get the money right they can't get the education right – because I don't think you can separate the two, because it is about prioritising....Now if the head can't manage the staff, can't manage the curriculum, they're not going to be able to manage the money. That obviously is a sweeping statement, but looking at those heads, I can't see a marvellous educator who is not also a marvellous manager who can't also manage a tin pot budget, because it is a tin pot budget when it comes down to it, because so many of the choices are taken away from you and we're only talking about the margins, and at the margin they have AUR anyway. But, it's up to us to get the formula right so they can do it.
(Officer, 3)

Another officer expressed support for moving decisions to a more local level given the inherent difficulties of working within an organisational bureaucracy that local education authorities represent. Here the argument again linked the school as a site for education and the flexibility to make choices at the level of the school.

Well it does give them more power definitely; it just gives them the opportunity to actually do some of the local decision making. I do think that things like, there has always been a frustration with headteachers, its things like minor repairs, things like just having a plug put on something, I mean, I know one example would be that you have a major piece of equipment delivered and it standing there ready for use and you can't use because you haven't had the right person

in to put the plug on, and I'm speaking from experience on that, and that is just so frustrating, and the reason is that they've put the order in so you have to have a qualified electrician, which is understandable for health and safety reasons, but why no-one could ever cope with the system, why it then takes two to three weeks for that person to turn up to do the plug even though that order had been put in the same time as the equipment had been ordered, and that might be a minor point but its that level of frustration I think in schools, that heads actually and all staff would be appreciative of having that sort of opportunity and flexibility. (Officer 1)

In contrast to the views of local government officers, governors mirrored headteachers concerns about the amount of time and resources devolved management took and its implications in terms of the relationships within the school and the support being given to classroom teachers:

Well I think one of the things that's happening is that an awful lot more of the senior management team's time and the administrative staff time is being taken up on doing things like budgets and producing stuff for governors that before would have been done at a local authority level and I think that's a disadvantage for the school since we're not getting the sort of educational input from the senior management team that we would have had before. (Governor 2)

This move away from providing educational leadership and support and the lack of time for the 'classroom' was expressed by primary headteachers rather than the secondary headteacher,

mainly because of the different situation of the headteacher in the two sectors¹⁰¹. This mirrors the point made by Maychell (1994) in an examination of the impact of local management on schools whose research showed:

The biggest changes were in primary schools, with nearly two thirds of heads saying there had been 'a large increase' in the time they spent of financial management and administration. (Maychell, 1994, p.90)

The time spent on financial and administrative tasks took time away from the classroom and for one primary headteacher saw this as an important but negative point in terms of local management which had changed the nature of headship itself¹⁰².

The other disadvantage for me because I'm an old fashioned headteacher, although I don't think I'm a old fashioned headteacher, but perhaps a traditional headteacher who has in the past enjoyed the opportunity to spend time with the children, but my time with the children is much less now then I would want it to be or than I've been used to. (Headteacher 2)

For another headteacher, the financial aspects of local management had in fact become an obstacle in the way of making decisions about children's education.

¹⁰¹ Before local management it was common for primary headteachers to have some element of a teaching load. This has not been the case in secondary schools.

¹⁰² Broadbent, J., Laughlin, R., Shiern, D, and Dandy, N,(1993) argue that there are different approaches to local management across genders with women tending to be less positive than men.

So I think that the main thing that I've found is that there's a change in resourcing and its money driven and before I was able to think far more from the educational point of view and now I try desperately to think of the educational point of view but at the same time, the whole time, it comes back to the financial aspect. (Headteacher 3)

The implications for workloads of the changes in the roles and responsibilities brought about by the implementation of local management of schools were recognised by all those interviewed. In particular, headteachers were concerned about their relationships with their governing bodies. For one headteacher part of the additional workload of local management was in relation to supporting the governors to work effectively.

In terms of the analysis of interviewees, it is clear that voluntary aided schools were in a stronger position to take on the demands of local management, given their existing responsibility for aspects of personnel management. With voluntary aided schools, the headteachers felt supported by their governing body in terms of the challenges of financial management:

Well I get a huge amount of support to the extent that I feel they trust me um and I suppose I've been here for quite a lot time. There are very much on the education side, they were drawn into being governors and now they find they have been identified as having particular skills or being willing to learn and they certainly have taken those responsibilities on board - I get a huge amount of support from two governors. (Headteacher 2)

This view contrasted with the headteachers at county schools and governors from county schools. For them, the additional responsibilities of financial and personnel management which local management brought had had implications for them and their governors which had changed their relationships in a negative way:

...When I was appointed the governors were a nice bunch of people, very supportive, never questioned anything I did, never did anything beyond coming to a meeting which was once a term. Now they being asked to take on these additional roles, I am not sure that they're up to it. (Headteacher 4)

For some headteachers, the *raison d'être* for the introduction of local management was precisely in terms of focusing on headteachers and highlighting them under a spotlight. This has added an additional strain for headteachers to cope with the area of financial management which was so new for them. For some headteachers there was resentment that local management was asking them to operate as an 'accountant' rather than concentrating on the teaching aspects of the school. This has repercussions for education in that local management has increased the level of stress related to the work of being a headteacher. When asked how local management has changed their job, one headteacher replied:

Yes, um well its created quite a lot of anxiety and stress for me because um I always tend to underestimate my own levels of competence and where I'm not sure exactly what is being required of me. I've had a huge amount of non-judgmental support; people were very responsive to where you were and what

you were going through. So I think LMS initially created a lot of anxiety for me and I almost felt at one point that I was being totally deskilled because the things that I am very good at I couldn't find in LMS in that sort of management and just the financial thing, I thought this is not me I'm not going to work for Price Waterhouse and so I felt quite debilitated and deskilled um but that isn't the case now, I've kind of come to terms with it. It has changed my job because I've seen well, its changed my job because I've got a non-classed based deputy who now is doing some of things that previously I was trying to do - I was doing not I was trying to do - I'm now having to spend a lot more time working with the school administrations and support um so yes its changed it in that respect. I also have to say I have a more time working with the governors um in the sub-committees that we have now. We went from managing an AUR¹⁰³ budget of £29,000 to something in the order of half a million pounds so yes my job now has a lot more to do with administration and it has a lot to do with governor support and supporting the governors and working with the governors. (Headteacher 2)

Despite the concerns raised by headteachers at the beginning of local management, it is now clear that LMS has given headteachers a greater position of power than was previously the case. In particular, the control of finance and personnel issues on a day to day basis has entrenched the power of headteacher vis-à-vis their governing body and their local education authority. Even those headteachers who were interviewed who had been apprehensive about the financial aspects of local management stressed the advantages of making decisions at the local level.

¹⁰³ The Alternative Use of Resources scheme was used by ILEA to allocate some funds to schools for them to spend on pupils in their

Page 221

The knowledge that I did have was what I knew was right for my school so the management side of it wasn't a problem, but the actual financial coping part of it I did find very stressful and what do I think its all about...um well I think that it does certainly provide schools with the opportunity to control to have much more to not to have control but to be in control to a much larger extent and I think there are no better people than the management team of a school to identify what the priorities in that school are and local financial management has given our school through our management team the opportunity you know to prioritise and to actually address the issues that we think are the important ones for our children. So I think its meeting the children's needs much better than before.

(Headteacher 2)

Indeed, it is clear that a number of headteachers and their professional associations are relishing the additional powers given to them under LMS and would vigorously oppose any move to reverse the trend toward greater delegation in schools.¹⁰⁴ As the section will show later on the power of the local education authority rather than passing to the school governing body, has increasingly become crystallised in the senior tiers of management within the school (Angus, 1993, Barber, 1996, Evetts, 1996, NASUWT, 1998).

schools. The scheme represent an early form of delegation, although in this case the decision for spending did not rest with the governing body.

¹⁰⁴ For example Thomas and Bullock, 1994 and more recently Mullen, 1998

6.5. She who pays the piper? The case of school secretaries

The delegation of budgets to school level represents a powerful force for change in the relationships between administrative staff and senior managers. Administrative staff (school secretaries) are frequently low-paid women who are often, in the primary sector in particular, part-time workers. Although there has been some work on the effects on the (predominantly male) headteachers workload as a result of the introduction of local management of schools, there has been little that has addressed the specific issues surrounding day-to-day financial control, monitoring and budgeting that is often the responsibility of these women workers.

The introduction of forms of accountancy policy and practice will have implications for the long-term future role of administrative staff within schools. One of these is the advent of computerised administration, which has seen school administrative staff develop different skills and abilities. There is now some detailed research on the issues surrounding gender and technology and the role of computers as reinforcing gender stereotypes and traditional divisions in the workforce. However, despite a growing area of research into issues of gender and technology¹⁰⁵, there is very little research on the effects of the introduction of this technology into the processes of administration within schools.

The role of administrative staff has changed to cope with the new responsibilities delegated to the school. Broadbent (1992) argues that within local management practises there are two main types of activity which can be determined by their focus and the gender of the person completing the

¹⁰⁵ See Cockburn, Ormrod, 1993, Kaufman, T..V. , 1997, Mitter, Rowbotham, 1997

tasks. The first is predominantly concerned with the **presentation** of facts and figures and the development of policies and strategies, the second concentrates on the **day-to-day** financial monitoring and paying of invoices and bills. The first type of activity would in a school be the presentation of, for example, the yearly budget and its adoption by the governing body. The second type would include inputting the budget into the computer, ordering stock and checking the budget. For Broadbent (1992), there is a clear gender dimension to forms of accountancy policy and practice which are so central to local management:

The accounting which has been introduced into schools is an accounting in the public sphere, stressing accountability and control...the social construction of gender identities is such that men are possibly advantaged when operating in the public sphere. There is also a private domain to accounting which is closely associated with women. This involves the book keeping, looking after the detail, and it is seen as the equivalent to housekeeping ... Ironically more women are likely to be involved in the housekeeping role of accounting, supporting the LMS initiative which undermines them. (Broadbent, 1992, unpublished, p.5)

In terms of local management, there is a division of labour between the genders and between classes. Headteachers (who are predominantly white middle class men) present the budget to the governing body, yet the day-to-day monitoring of expenditure is often left to part-time women workers - the school secretary/administrative officer. This is particularly the case in primary schools where the flexibility to appoint additional administrative staff is limited. For a number headteachers, particularly those in primary schools, the role of school secretary/administrative officer was critical to the success of local management.

I'm very lucky since I have such a good school secretary. She has been involved from the start going on the training and everything. I don't know how schools cope if their school secretary isn't up to it. (Headteacher 3)

In two cases, the headteachers themselves recognised the amount of administrative work that local management required and felt responsible for not giving the support to members of staff taking over the additional administration that LMS required.

So I was never on top of it really and that has had a very serious effect, and I feel very responsible for this, on our school administration officer because she to a large extent was left entirely out on a limb to cope with all of that and I think she had an entitlement to expect me to keep in touch and although I can find excuses for not doing it, although they're not even excuses they're good reasons, I think that her entitlement wasn't met and that's serious (Headteacher 2)

6.6. Who wants to be a millionaire? The case of school governors

It is worth stressing the importance of school governing bodies in the implementation of local management of schools and the forms of devolved management that accompanied it. The school budget and the financial and personnel responsibilities, which flow from the delegation of the budget, are delegated not to the headteacher of a school but to the school governing body. The governing body is seen as **the** system of accountability in contrast with the 'unaccountable' local education authority. Just as formula funding was the mechanism for establishing the market in

education, so the governing body was seen as way of ensuring the 'local' element of local management.

Therefore the extent to which governing bodies are representative of the school's local community and the interests of those connected with the local area is critical in understanding issues of accountability and the development of the market that has been central to the development of local management. (National Foundation for Educational Research, 1990) Despite the importance of governors, there is no national database to record the gender and ethnicity of governors and there is no recognition of the role that governors play in the running of school in terms of arrangements for paid time off work as is the case for other public duties such as Justices of the Peace or local councillors.

The workload and hours of activity of the school governor had increased considerably and there was evidence that both head teachers and even the governors themselves were being asked to undertake too much responsibility.

(Boyett and Finlay, 1996, p. 34)

Given the workload of governors and the wide range of tasks that governing bodies are now responsible for, there is a danger that the role of governor and particularly chair of governors can only be conducted effectively by those with sufficient time and energy to dedicate themselves to the task. This has implications for gender and the involvement of women in governorship given the other demands on their time. The ad hoc research studies which have looked at the composition of governing bodies have drawn attention to the low representation of ethnic minority governors and

the under-representation of women as Chairs of Governors (for example, National Consumer Council and Community Development Foundation (1990).

Significantly, it was found the gender balance of the current chairs of governors also favours males. In the case of both primary and secondary schools (and CTCs¹⁰⁶ separately) the chairs of governing bodies are male in about three quarters of the cases. (Arnot, David and Weiner, 1996, p. 134)

In contrast with this ad hoc approach to ethnic and gender monitoring of governors, the ILEA regularly monitored the gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status of its governing bodies. The last of these monitors took place in 1990 before the abolition and the consequent reconstitution of the governing bodies following the transfer of education to the new inner London boroughs.

The new local education authorities have not been so regular in conducting this monitoring role. Indeed some authorities have ceased to collect such information on the ethnicity and gender of governors and for others the response rate has been so low that the data was considered of little use. The table below is based on information given by the inner London authorities in the summer term of 1998. It shows that 8 years after the abolition of ILEA, for those authorities contacted, most no longer collect this information.

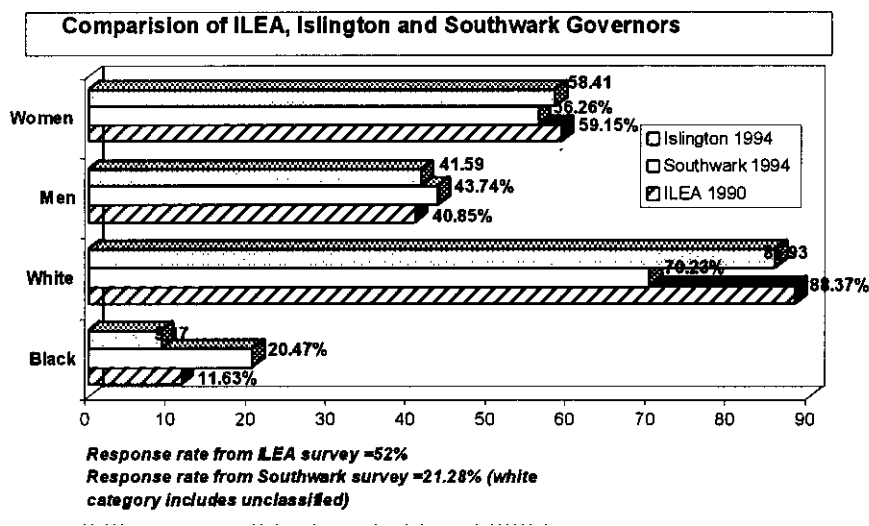
Table 4

Borough	Approach to collection of data on gender and ethnicity of governors
Camden	Do not collect such information
Hackney	Do collect data, however, approximately 50% response rate
Hammersmith and Fulham	Continue to collect data held on database. Response rate currently 52%.
Islington	Last survey done in 1994. Surveys follow this had very low response rate. Records no longer kept
Kensington and Chelsea	Do not collect such information
Lambeth	Do hold database. However, this only covers those schools clerked by the authority and is based on assessments made by clerk rather than governors themselves
Lewisham	Incomplete records based on self-assessment. Low response rate
Southwark	Now have incomplete records.
Wandsworth	Do not collect such information. Members have never requested such data.

Source: Telephone responses July 1998

However, two authorities have conducted surveys examining the race and gender composition of their governing bodies. Neither authority included a category to assess the socio-economic status of governors.

In both authorities the response rate to the survey was in the low 20 percent. This does not compare well with ILEA rate which showed over 50% response rate



The figures show a slight decrease in the numbers of women becoming governors in the new local authorities in comparison with their numbers in 1990. However, more noticeable is the decrease in the numbers of Black governors although it is important to bear in mind that the figures from the ILEA included the borough with the second highest Black and ethnic minority population in the country.

For the small sample of governors interviewed as part of this research, there was a clear commitment to the role of the involvement of local people in the running of their local schools. Each one of them stressed the importance of being involved in the school, but this was often coupled with concern about the amount of time the role of governor could involve:

I think it's really important that parents and other people are school governors. But it takes up an awful lot of time....to do it properly you need to go to training, sit on committees, some times I worry that all we can really do is ask a few questions before rubber stamping what the head wants. (Governor 2)

Local government officers and headteachers also raised this concern about the quality of governors and their ability to take seriously their role in the school. In particular, local government officers raised the issue of how governors are able to address specific personnel issues such as the headteachers' pay:

One head said to me "I can't wait for the introduction of local management because I want the governors to fix my salary, I'm due for a salary increase". He's only got 25 children in his school. How do the governors know how much he's under performing? That comes back to the role of the LEA showing how well he's doing. (Officer 3)

Local government officers in contrast to headteachers saw the involvement of governors in local management as a means of creating wider participation in schools. LMS was

seen as providing an arena for 'real choices', which would have an impact on children's education:

It's just like the governing bodies; people are saying "I'm interested in being a governor now because I can make real choices", and if you can get parents to be involved in making real choices then there's a reason to stick around, whereas if all the choices are taken by them, there's no reason to stick around. (Officer 3)

The view from governors supported their eagerness to be involved in their schools and the decision making process. However, in a similar way to headteachers, the task of understanding their new roles and responsibilities had meant a tremendous amount of work:

It's OK for me, I work in education and understand a bit about budgets. But for some of the other governors, well, they simply don't have the time to attend training and to get a grasp of all the issues. (Governor 3)

The lack of monitoring of school governors raises issues of accountability and the extent to which they are representative of the local school community. In contrast with the ILEA, the ad hoc approach of most inner London boroughs makes any analysis of the 'race' or gender of governors difficult. Local management places governors in a specific relationship with the school and the headteacher. Given the different locations of governors and headteachers (governors as volunteers, headteachers as paid professionals) there is a danger that rather than transferring power from local education

authorities to the local community through a consumer driven market, local management has in fact given greater power to the non-elected, non-representative professional in the school, the headteacher (Boyett and Finlay, 1996).

6.7. Conclusion

This section has been concerned with the management element of introduction of local management of schools and the specific issues raised by the introduction of local management in inner London. It has argued that local management, rather than providing a new avenue for the advancement of women managers and new systems and structures of management within schools, has tended to be seen as concerned with finance and resources rather than personnel issues which emphasise more masculinist models of management. This concentration on finance, which is part of a wider emphasis on measuring and costing every aspect of education in order to introduce an education market, has brought about more masculine styles of management and created a culture which has the inherent danger of valuing financial management over educational leadership. In addition, local management places extra burdens on the administrative part-time low paid women workers in schools while requiring additional skills and abilities. Moreover, the role of the governors as strategic managers of the school has not ensured the accountability to the local community that it was argued was part of the rationale for local management.

7. Conclusion – fusion or more confusion

As the delivery of policy disappears into a multiplicity of organisations, it is necessary to keep hold of a level of analysis which looks for the common threads. (Clarke and Newman, 1997, p.82)

7.1. Introduction

The 'common thread' throughout this thesis has been an attempt to develop a model of research and analysis that is appropriate for dealing with the reality of education policy. This model which is developed in Section 2 aims to satisfy a number of my own concerns about the field of policy research and how research can understand the reality of the social world. In essence, it is an attempt to see policy as impure, that is to accept that policy has a shape, history and definition that is borne out of its own socio-historic situation, and that policy is inserted into a society which is already structured and peopled. It is, then, an attempt to work through and develop an analysis which both gives social actors an agency and the room for negotiation, resistance, and manoeuvre whilst at the same time addressing and accepting the pre-existence of a power structure based on social inequality which shapes the social world. It is, in many ways, a sociological attempt to have my cake and eat it!

This approach of seeking to resolve the tensions between structural approaches and those which posit a more diffuse and perhaps sophisticated account of policy has determined both the approach to research for the thesis and the topic for research. As Section 2 explains, my approach sought to

bring together a number of different strands and themes ranging from the restructuring of the welfare state to the management of schools in a way which would shed light on their interconnectivity and the inter-relationships between them. Given the range of focuses for the research, the adoption of the case study as a method of research permitted more room for me as a researcher to adopt a range of methods and techniques to make room for the different sources of data which underpin this analysis. This use of different methods is critical since these give the tools for understanding both the structural and the way it shapes policy and the individual in the sense of understanding individual social actors and the way they make sense of their social world. In Sections 4, 5 and 6, this approach has lead to a wide analysis of both forms of data to seek to understand whether or not a fusion between the structural and social agency is possible and whether a fused model for understanding policy can be developed.

7.2. Fused or confused? Returning to the beginning

The literature review (Section 2) attempted to map out the different strands that influenced the development both of the method taken for this research and the rationale for choosing the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools in inner London as its remit. The need to place policy within a context, to give policy a shape, a history, a definition was critical in understanding why a particular approach was taken within the 1988 Education Reform Act to the 'problem' of inner London's education system. Thus ILEA is placed within the wider transformations of the welfare state and the reorganisation of inner London's education system is viewed as part of the wider package of reforms in the public sector (both in terms of local government itself and in terms of the services that it delivered) which were a hallmark of the last Conservative government.

Moreover, in order to make sense of why ILEA was abolished and, indeed I would argue, in order to understand the changes in state schooling at a more general level, Section 2 examined the role of the ILEA as a counterweight to the prevailing right wing political ideological of central government. The relationships between central and local government and the way in which one impacts on the other is critical in understanding these changes. This movement of ebb and flow between the policies and politics of central government and the standpoint of a number of local authorities is critical in understanding the role of ILEA as part of the wider agenda of the new urban left and 'municipal socialism'.

An understanding of these inter-relationships between the structural and the individual, central and local government, the state and civil society, raises a number of critical questions about the role and the impact of policy. Firstly, there is a need to resolve whether or not policy has any effect at all, that is whether there has been change as a result of the introduction or implementation of a specific policy and what is the nature and the level of that change. Secondly, there is the issue of whether those changes are ones that the policy sought to bring about and thirdly, it is important to understand what the implementation of policy has meant for those at the receiving end.

Section 2 sought to provide an analytical framework which would do justice to the relationships, complexities and messiness of researching policy whilst seeking to hold onto general structural accounts of policy and acknowledging the specificity and uniqueness of the inner London context. It builds a model for analysing and researching policy which both understands the overarching framework of the structural without denying the reality of social change at the local level.

7.3. A multiplicity of methods – seeking to understand differences and similarities

Section 3 builds on the work in Section 2 by providing the rationale for the methodological approach adopted in the research for this thesis. Specifically, it seeks to build on feminist and anti-racist critiques of methodology and epistemology and to apply these to the area of researching policy to develop a more 'fused' approach to policy research. This in itself is a difficult task, particular given the nature of the policy investigated which is not one that sits neatly within feminist and anti-racist approaches. Policy, for many of those working in this area, continues to be seen as 'ungendered' and 'unraced' and without a context. Moreover the topic of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools does not at first glance lend itself to traditional areas of concern for models of research from a social justice perspective.

However, by using a case study approach the different strands of feminist and anti-racist approaches to methodology and their critiques of 'traditional' methods of research can be examined, analysed and applied to the area of policy. Moreover, the use of different approaches dependant on the data under examination gives the opportunity to start to address issues of wider structural forces and the realisation of those forces in social reality.

As Section 3 discussed, the use of documentary evidence in terms of policy documents and written policy statements and financial returns, enables an understanding of 'privileged knowledge' whilst the approach of interviewing (and indeed even the choice of who to interview) is an attempt to understand from the vantage point of the 'situated' knower. In the thesis, neither approach and neither set of data is afforded greater weight nor greater understanding, but through an approach

which seeks to place both privileged knowledge and situated knowledge alongside each other, there is the opportunity to start to understand the inter-relationships between the two.

7.4. Placing the local in the context of the national

Section 4 uses the methodological approach outlined above to explore the reasons and events leading up to the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the establishment of the new inner London local education authorities. It does this through a process of contrasting the textual analysis of policy documents with the analysis of interviewees. In particular, it draws attention to the role of the political, both at the level of national government and at the level of local government, in shaping the forces that lead to ILEA's demise and shaped the post-ILEA settlement for education in inner London.

Moreover, it contrasts the political rhetoric of wastage and bureaucracy which shaped the policy initiatives for the welfare state as a whole, with the views of those at the receiving end of the policy and those who, for want of better words, made the policy work. This permits the researcher to develop an understanding of the role of policy in action, the way it is shaped, negotiated, framed by local forces and social actors and sheds light on the relationships between the structural and agency and to develop an understanding of the interrelationships between the two.

The rationale for choosing the inner London context as the site for research behind this thesis is precisely because of the opportunities it afforded to reflect upon this relationship between wider

structures of power and the transformation of the welfare state and the implementation of policy through and by social actors. In particular, I have drawn attention to the similarities of the Inner London Education Authority as a site of political resistance to the Thatcherite governments of the mid to late 1980s and that of other local education authorities and structures of local government at a time of the rise of the new urban left and municipal socialism. Moreover, using the example of ILEA's approach to 'equal opportunities' I have emphasised the role of the Inner London Education Authority in presenting an alternative to countervailing political and ideological culture of individualism and the 'free market'.

Section 4 examined the rationale behind the abolition of ILEA through the understandings and interpretations of those involved in implementing the policy and those 'at the receiving end' of the policy. It sought to highlight some of areas of conflict, tensions and contradictions by drawing upon interviewees own analyses of the issue surrounding the abolition. Drawing on Power's (1992) notion of the pre-existence of structural inequality in education and Ball's (1997a) emphasis on the placing of educational research within a socio-historical, political and geographical context, it 'unpicks' notions of bureaucracy and inefficiency which were (and continue to be) used to change the structure of the welfare state as whole, from the point of view of headteachers and policy officers. Given the subjective interpretation of 'bureaucracy' and the lack of information on expenditure before and after ILEA, it is these interpretations which permit researchers an avenue for understanding the background to the abolition and the development of fused models of policy research.

As Section 4 also highlights, another critical strand in the demise of the ILEA was the approach it took to 'equal opportunities'. In this instance, ILEA not only represented a site of resistance but also (alongwith other left wing councils) a site for the development of an alternative approach to education, schooling, and 'equal opportunities'. ILEA's policies for 'equal opportunities' provide a textual opportunity for understanding and examining different approaches to this area, as well as providing a public statement on the political philosophy of the authority. This policy rested on a view of schools and education which did not see them as semi-autonomous units driven by market forces and the need to satisfy a consumer desires, but as a site for challenging existing structures in society in terms of transforming society.

7.5. Managers and the market

Sections 5 and 6 of the thesis move the analysis from an understanding of the forces shaping the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the establishment of post ILEA London local education authorities, to a focus on the introduction of the market in education through the policy of local management of schools. Using the method of counterposing documentary evidence and qualitative interviews, these sections highlight the messiness of policy implementation and the way in which the structural predetermines the **context** into which policy is introduced whilst not predetermining the full impact of the outcome of policy.

In particular, Section 5 examines the way in which local management of schools was used as the mechanism for the establishment of a market in education through the introduction of formula funding and age weighted pupil units. However, as the Section makes clear, the political intentions

for local management did not necessarily lead to the changes originally envisaged. Despite the documentary evidence that LMS was intended to introduce a competitive element to schools by establishing them as semi autonomous units run by the volunteers of governing bodies and freeing them from local education authority control, the evidence from the interviews show a more complicated and tangled response. In particular it draws attention to the interplay between the overarching policy of local management and the redefinition of local management to 'fit in with' local conditions and local circumstances and local schools.

The Section is intended to use the evidence from the local situation in inner London to highlight more general arguments about the role of the market in education, the transfer of power from local education authorities to schools and central government and the way in which a number of different agencies (local education authorities, governors, policy officers, headteachers) adapted to that change, negotiated that change and sought to make it 'their own'.

Section 6 turns away from the level of local management as a specific system for funding schools and seeks to place the initiative within the context of wider changes in public sector management which were a part of the changes introduced by the reforms of the welfare state. In particular, it seeks to argue that LMS has changed the definition of what it is to be a teacher and what it is to be a manager within schools in a way which is constructed around issues of gender, race and class and which does not take account of the specific gendering of the schooling system itself. This Section is seeking to show how a specific education policy can change the reality of social actors lives at an individual level and on a daily basis and the need for policy research to take account of the level of the social actor as a participant in shaping social change.

7.6. Summing up – trying to seek a resolution

The justification for the research behind this thesis lies in a desire to understand a particular series of events in the history of inner London and to place those within a wider context of structural inequality and power. The thesis is aiming to provide an understanding of education policy and how and why it is shaped, created and implemented and what is its impact. At a wider level the thesis is seeking to engage with developing a model which has its roots in structural accounts of power and gender, 'race' and class whilst acknowledging that policy has an impact on the social world and the way social actors respond to it and live their lives.

In essence the thesis has wanted to resolve the tensions between structural and less structural accounts whilst do justice to the messiness of social world and policy implementation. In terms of the world of schooling in inner London and at the level of policy research as a whole, without an understanding of all the elements that have shaped and continued to shape policy and its implementation and without an acceptance of the uniqueness of specific sites of policy coupled with an understanding of the common threads which link one site to another, any theories or politics founded in social justice which seek social transformation will be inadequate.

Postscript: New Labour and Education, Education, Education¹⁰⁷

Throughout this thesis, I have emphasised the complexities of developing an analysis of educational policy given an ever-changing political context. In particular, I have drawn attention to *the specific circumstances of the situation in inner London, as well as the national context in which education policy has been developed*. Critical to my analysis has been the importance of issues of social justice, gender, race, class and sexuality in both framing those specific circumstances and acting as a part of the dynamic in the change in educational policy. It is my contention that without understanding the specific historical, political and social context of inner London and its education service, it is impossible to understand some of the wider dynamics that have brought about some of the most significant changes in the state education system since the 1944 Education Act.

This thesis is subtitled a 'policy journey through the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority and the introduction of local management of schools in inner London'. It is a policy journey in a number of different senses. It is for me a personal journey of seeking to understand the social and political forces that have shaped my city, my career and my education service. It is a policy journey in the sense that it seeks to chart the movement from one form and structure of education system for inner London to another. It is a journey that is not over.....

At the beginning of the research for this thesis, the Inner London Education Authority had been recently abolished and the new inner London authorities were seeking to establish their individual

¹⁰⁷ This section is the development of a number of ideas presented at Reading University in the form of a visiting lecture in 1998 (Reynolds, 1998)

identities and roles. At the same time, the most major shift in the control and funding of schools was instigated through local management of schools. Along with other elements of the 1988 Education Reform Act, these initiatives changed the educational and political landscape of inner London in a way which cannot be reversed.

In May 1997, a Labour Government was elected following 18 years of Conservative Governments. The new Labour Government has rapidly introduced a series of policies aimed at tackling the key priority articulated by the future Prime Minister of 'Education, education, education'.

In terms of the funding and management of schools, the new Labour Government is planning significant changes to both the relationships between schools and their local education authorities and the funding and responsibilities which will rest at the level of school governing bodies. The Department for Education and Employment issued a series of consultation documents throughout May, June and July 1998, which gave the broad policy framework of the government's intentions. It is clear that the Government's intention is (once again) to redefine the relationships between national and local government, and between a local education authority and its schools. In particular, the role and responsibilities of local education authorities are being redefined with a greater emphasis being placed on their role in 'raising educational standards'.

The School Standards and Framework Act 1998 represents the legislative expression of the new Government's policy framework. In particular, it contains the structure for the relationships between a local education authority and its schools for the next century. This structure is based on a narrow

focus on schools and educational attainment through the introduction of Education Development Plans. These annual plans will define the role and level of LEA strategies for raising educational achievement and will contain the 'targets' for 11 year olds in literacy and numeracy for each LEA as a whole and its individual schools.

In addition to their role as in meeting the Government's pledges on educational targets, the Education Development Plan will also act as a mechanism for defining some of the elements of expenditure which can be retained by the local education authority under the new funding regime.

In May 1998, the consultation paper 'Fair Funding: Improving Delegation to Schools' was issued giving the broad policy framework for the continuation of local management of schools. Fair Funding represents the new government's policy for the funding and financing of schools and the model for control of personnel and finances within the education system that will shape schools in the 21st century.

Fair Funding uses a different conceptual framework to establish the funding to be delegated to schools than that of its predecessor local management of schools.¹⁰⁸ Fair Funding makes a distinction between centrally retained expenditure (which must fall under the categories of 'Strategic Management', 'Access', 'School Improvement' and 'Special Educational Needs') and all other expenditure which should be delegated to schools.

¹⁰⁸ At the time of writing the DfEE had not issued the draft regulations, which will shape the eventual outcome of Fair Funding.

The effect of this distinction will be to increase the level of responsibility held by school governing bodies. In particular, previously centrally retained expenditure, for long term sickness cover, repairs and maintenance and school meals, will be delegated to schools.

The expenditure centrally retained by local education authorities will be published in a national league table to highlight those LEAs who are not cost-effective. Moreover, under the School Standards and Framework Act 1998, the Secretary of State will have the right to 'cap' centrally retained expenditure where he believes it will be excessive.

For the inner London boroughs, the move to Fair Funding may highlight the difficulties of small LEAs running education. Despite the arguments about the cost of the ILEA, it is likely that some of the highest spending authorities in terms of centrally retained expenditure will be those inner London boroughs who do not benefit from economies of scale.

In 1999, the Greater London Authority will be established with strategic powers over transport and planning in London. At the moment there are no plans to include education as part of its strategic remit. However, given the impetus to achieve 'Best Value'¹⁰⁹ in education and the difficulties to achieve economies of scale in small inner London authorities, it may be that the future may see the

¹⁰⁹ Best Value is the government's replacement for compulsory competitive tendering. All local government services are to be subject to the Best Value framework which seeks to establish comparison across and between local authorities and the private sector and a mechanism for consulting with local communities on the services they want.

establishment once again of a cross-London authority for education. Given the limitation of local education authority powers as result of LMS and Fair Funding, it is likely that any such a body will not be a close relative of the Inner London Education Authority.

8. Bibliography

8.1. Publications and papers

Acker, S. (1994) *Gendered Education*, Buckingham, Open University Press)

Ahier, J., Cosin, B., and Hales, M. (Eds.) (1996) *Diversity and Change: education policy and selection*, London, Routledge

Angus, L. (1993) 'Democratic participation or efficient site management: the social and political location of the self-managing school', in Smyth, J. (ed.) *A Socially Critical View of the Self-Managing School*, London, Falmer Press

Apple, M. (1989) 'Critical introduction: Ideology and the State in Educational Policy', in Dale, R. *The State and Educational Policy*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Arends, J., and Volman, M. (1992) 'A comparison of different policies: equal opportunities in education in the Netherlands and the policy of the Inner London Education Authority', *Gender and Education*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp 57-66

Arnot, M. (1987) 'Political lip service or radical reform? Central government responds to issues of sex equality as a policy issue', in Arnot, M. and Weiner, G. (eds.) *Gender and the Politics of Schooling*, London, Hutchinson

Arnot, M. (1990) 'Consultation or legitimation? Race and gender politics and the making of the National Curriculum', *Critical Social Policy*, Issue 27, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp.21-38

Arnot, M (1993): 'A crisis in patriarchy? British feminist educational politics and state regulation of gender' in Arnot, M and Weiler, K (eds.): *Feminism and Social Justice in Education*, London, Falmer

Arnot, M. and Barton, L (eds.) (1992) *Voicing Concerns: sociological perspectives on contemporary education reforms*, Wallingford, Triangle

Arnot, M., David, M. and Weiner, G. (1996): *Educational Reforms and Gender Inequality in Schools*, Manchester, Equal Opportunities Commission

Arnot, M and Weiler, K (eds.) (1993) *Feminism and Social Justice in Education*, London, Falmer

Arnot, M. and Weiner, G. (eds.) (1987): *Gender and the Politics of Schooling*, London, Hutchinson

Atkinson, P and Coffey A. (1995) 'Analysing Documentary Realities' in Silverman, D. (ed.) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. London, Sage

Atkinson, R (1990): 'Government during the Thatcher Years' in Savage, S. and Robins, L. (eds.) *Public Policy under Thatcher*, London, Macmillan

Bagley, C. (1996) 'Race, Schooling and Parental Choice' in *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 22, No.5, pp.569-580

Ball, S. (1990a) *Markets, Morality and Equality in Education*, London, Tufnell Press.

Ball, S. (1990b) *Politics and Policy Making in Education - explorations in policy sociology*, London, Routledge

Ball, S (1994) 'Some reflections on policy theory: a brief response to Hatcher and Troyna', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp.171-182

Ball, S (1997a) 'Policy Sociology and Critical Social Research: a personal review of recent education policy and policy research' in *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol.23, No. 3, pp.257-275

Ball, S. (1997b): 'The Englishness of English Education Policy: A Research Agenda', Paper at British Educational Research Association 1997 (unpublished)

Ball, S. Vincent, C. Radnor, H. (1997) 'Into confusion: LEAs, accountability and democracy', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp.147-163

Barber, M. (ed.)(1992): *Education in the Capital*, London, Cassell

Barber, M. (1996) 'Education reform, management approaches and teacher unions', in Leithwood, K., Chapman, J., Corson, D, Hallinger, P. and Hart, A. (eds.) *International Handbook of Educational Leadership and Administration*, Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Bash, L. and Coulby, D. (eds.)(1989): *The Education Reform Act: competition and control*, London, Cassell.

Bell, L. (1991) 'Educational Management: An Agenda for the 1990s', *Educational Management and Administration*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp.136-140

Bhavnani, K. K. (1993) 'Tracing the Contours: Feminist Research and Feminist Objectivity', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp.95-104

Blackmore, J. (1996) 'Doing emotional labour in the education market place: stories from the filed of women in management', *Discourse*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp.337-350.

Blair, M., and Holland, J., with Sheldon, S. (1995): *Identity and Diversity: Gender and the Experience of Education*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C., Tight, M. (1996) *How to Research*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Bowe, R. and Ball, S. J. with Gold, A. (1992) *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: Case Studies in Policy Sociology*, London, Routledge

Bowe, R. and Ball, S. J., with Gold, A. (1996) 'The policy process and the processes of policy' in Ahier, J., Cosin, B., and Hales, M. (eds.) *Diversity and Change: education policy and selection*, London, Routledge

Bowles, G. and Klein, R. D. (eds.) (1983) *Theories of Women's Studies*, London, Routledge

Bowles, S. and Gintis, S. (1976) *Schooling in Capitalist America*, New York, Basic Books

Boyett, I. and Finlay, D. (1996) 'Corporate governance and the school head teacher', *Public Money and Management*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp.31-38

Bracewell, G. (1990) *Interviewing in Social Research*, London, Routledge

Brannen, J. (ed.) (1992) *Mixing Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Research*, Aldershot, Avebury

Bridges, D. and Husbands, C. (eds.) (1996) *Consorting and collaborating in the educational market place*, London, Falmer Press

Brighouse, T. (1992) 'The ILEA Balance: Credit or Debit', in Barber, M. (ed.) *Education in the Capital*, London, Cassell

Broadbent, J. (1992) 'The Values of Accounting and Education: some implications of the creation of visibilities and invisibilities in schools', Paper at British Educational Research Association Conference, Stirling

Broadbent, J., Laughlin, R., Shearn, D., and Dandy, N. (1993) 'Implementing local management of schools: a theoretical and empirical analysis', *Research Papers in Education*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp.149-176

Bullock, A. and Thomas, H. (1992) 'School size and local management funding formulae', *Educational Management and Administration*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp.30-39.

Bullock, A., Thomas, H., and Arnott, M. (1993) 'The impact of Local Management of Schools: a view from headteachers', *Local Government Policy Making*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp.57-61

Bullock, R., Little, M. and Millham, S. (1992) 'The relationships between quantitative and qualitative approaches in social policy research' in Brannen, J. (ed.) *Mixing Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Research*, Aldershot, Avebury

Bulmer, M. (ed.) (1984) *Sociological Research Methods: an introduction*, London, Macmillan

Burton, L. (1993) 'Management, 'Race' and Gender: an unlikely alliance?', *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp.275-290

Caldwell, B. and Spinks, J. (1998) *Beyond the Self-Managing School*, London, Falmer Press

Chitty, C. (1989) *Towards a New Education System: the victory of the new right*, Lewes, Falmer

Chitty, C. (ed.) (1991) *Changing the Future - redprint for education*, London, Tufnell Press

Clark, J. (1990) 'Management and the role of Black managers' in Olowe, S. (ed.) *Against the Tide - Black Experiences in the ILEA*, London, ILEA

Clarke, J. and Newman, J. (1997) *The Managerial State: Power, Politics and Ideology in the Remaking of Social Welfare*, London, Sage

Cochrane, A. (1993) *Whatever Happened to Local Government?* Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Cockburn, C., Ormrod, S. (1993) *Gender and Technology in the Making*, London, Sage

Codd, J. (1988) 'The construction and deconstruction of educational policy documents', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol.3, No.3, pp.235-247

Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1989) *Research Methods in Education*, London Routledge

Cooper, D. (1995): *Sexing the City: Lesbian and Gay Politics within the Activist State*, London, Rivers Oram

Dale, R. (1989) *The State and Educational Policy*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Dale, R. (1994) 'Applied Education Politics or Political Sociology of Education? Contrasting Approaches to the Study of Recent Education Reform in England and Wales' in Halpin, D. and Troyna, B. (1994) *Researching Education Policy: ethical and methodological issues*, London, Falmer Press.

David, M. (1993) *Parents, Gender and Education Reform*, London, Polity

Davies, A.M., Holland, J. and Minhas, R. (1989): *Equal Opportunities in the new ERA*, London, Tufnell Press

Dawtre, L., Holland, J., and Hammer, M., with Sheldon, S. (1995) *Equality and Inequality in Education Policy*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters

Deem, R. (1996) 'Theory, User Relevance and Feminist Research in Education', Paper at the British Educational Research Association Conference, Lancaster University.

Deem, R. and Brehony, K. (1990) 'Restructuring state education after the Reform Act – social justice, social divisions and the governing of schools', paper at the British Sociological Association Conference, Surrey University.

Deem, R. and Brehony, K. (1993) 'Consumers and educational professionals in the organisation and administration of schools: partnership or conflict?', *Educational Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp.339-355

Deem, R. and Brehony, K. (1994) 'Why didn't you use a survey so you could generalize your findings? Methodological issues in a multiple case study of school governing bodies after the 1988 Education Reform Act' in Halpin, D. and Troyna, B. (eds.) *Researching Education Policy: ethical and methodological issues*, London, Falmer Press

Deem, R., Brehony, K. and Heath, S. (1994): 'Governors, Schools and the Miasma of the Market', *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 20, No.5, pp.535-549

Deem, R., Brehony, K. and Heath, S. (1995) *Active Citizenship and the Governing of Schools*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Dimmock, C., (ed.) (1993) *School based management and School Effectiveness*, London, Routledge.

Easthope, G. (1974) *History of social research methods*, London, Longman

Edwards, P. (1992) 'Formula Funding: three years on', *Public Finance and Accountancy*, 6 March 1992, pp. 27-28

Eichler, M. (1988) *Nonsexist Research Methods: a practical guide*, New Zealand, Allen and Unwin

Elliott, J. (1990) 'Validating Case Studies' in *Westminster Studies in Education*, Vol. 13, pp.47-60

Epstein, D. (1993) 'Defining Accountability in Education', *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp.243-258

Evans, J. and Penney, D. (1993) 'Investigating ERA: qualitative methods and policy orientated research', *British Journal of Physical Education*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp.1-7

Evetts, J. (1993) 'Local management and headship: Changing the contexts micropolitics', *Educational Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 53-66

Evetts, J. (1996) 'The new headteacher: budgetary devolution and the work culture of the secondary headteacher', in Pole, C. J. and Chawla-Duggan (eds.) *Reshaping Education in the 1990s: Perspectives on Secondary Schooling*, London, Falmer Press

Fielding, N and Lee, R. (1998) *Computer Analysis and Qualitative Research*, London, Sage

Finch, J (1984a) *Education as Social Policy*, London, Longman

Finch, J. (1984b) 'It's Great to Have Someone to Talk to: the ethics and politics of Interviewing Women', in Bell, C. and Roberts, H. (eds.) *Social Researching*, London, Routledge

Flude, M. and Hammer, M. (eds.) (1990) *The Education Reform Act 1988: its origins and implications*, Sussex, Barcombe

Flude, M. and Hammer, M. (1990) 'Opting for an Uncertain Future: Grant-Maintained Schools', in Flude, M. and Hammer, M. (eds.) *The Education Reform Act 1988: its origins and implications*, Sussex, Barcombe

Gewirtz, S. (1998) 'Conceptualizing social justice in education: mapping the territory', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp.469-484

Gewirtz, S., Ball, S. and Bowe, R. (1995) *Markets, Choice and Equity in Education*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Gold, R. and Szemerényi, S. (1997) *Running a School 1998: legal duties and responsibilities*, Bristol, Jordan

Government Statisticians Collective (1993) 'How Official Statistics are Produced: Views from the Inside', in Hammersley, M. (ed.) *Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice*, London, Sage

Grace, G. (1998) 'Critical Policy Scholarship: Reflections on the Integrity of Knowledge and Research' in Shacklock, G. and Smyth, J. (eds.) *Being Reflective in Critical Educational and Social Research*, London, Falmer

Greenwald, R., Hedges, L.V., and Laine, R. D. (1996) 'The effect of school resources on student achievement', *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 66, No. 3, pp. 361-396.

Griffiths, M. (1995) 'Making a difference: feminism, postmodernism and the methodology of educational research', *British Educational Research Journal*, 21 (2), 219-235

Griffiths, M. and Troyna, B. (1995) *Antiracism, Culture and Social Justice*, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham

Gyford, J. (1985) *The Politics of Local Socialism*, London: Allen and Unwin

Hall, V. (1996) *Dancing on the Ceiling: a study of Women Managers in Education*, London, Paul Chapman.

Halpin, D and Fitz, J (1990) 'Researching Grant-Maintained Schools', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp.167-180

Halpin, D. and Troyna, B. (1994) *Researching Education Policy: ethical and methodological issues*, London, Falmer Press.

Halsey, J. (1993) 'The Impact of Local Management on school management style' in *Local Government Policy Making*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp.49-56

Ham, C. and Hill, M. (1990) *The policy process in modern capitalism*, Hertfordshire, Harvester Wheatsheaf

Haraway, D. (1988) 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', *Feminist Studies*, 14, No. 3, pp.575-598

Harding, S. (1991) *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?* Itacha, New York, Cornell University Press

Harding, S. (1987) *The Science Question in Feminism*, Itacha, New York, Cornell University Press

Hargreaves, A. and Reynolds, D. (1989) *Education policies: controversies and critiques*, Lewes, Falmer

Hatcher, R., and Troyna, B. (1994) 'The 'Policy Cycle': A Ball by Ball Account', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp.155-170

Hatcher, R., Troyna, B., and Gewirtz, D. (1996) *Racial Equality and Local Management of Schools*, Stoke on Trent, Trentham Books

Heller, H. with Edwards, P. (1992) *Policy and Power in Education: the rise and fall of the LEA*, London, Routledge

Holland, J., Blair, M., Sheldon, S (eds.)(1995) *Debates and Issues in Feminist Research and Pedagogy*, Avon, Multi-Lingual Matters Ltd

Home, H. (ed.) (1998) *The School Management Handbook*, London, Kogan Paul.

Jones, K. (1989) *Right Turn: the Conservative Revolution in Education*, London, Hutchinson Radius

Kaufman, T.V. (1997) *Creatures of Prometheus: Gender and the Politics of Technology*, London, Rowman and Littlefield

Kelly, L., Regan, L. and Burton, S. (1995) 'Defending the Indefensible? Quantitative methods and feminist research' in Holland, J., Blair, M. with Sheldon, S., *Debates and Issues in Feminist Research and Pedagogy*, Avon, Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Kolakowski, L (1993) 'An Overall View of Positivism' in Hammersley, M (ed.) *Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice*, London, Sage

Kogan, M. (1994) 'Researching the powerful in education and elsewhere' in Walford, G. (ed.) *Researching the Powerful in Education*, London, UCL Press

Lather, P (1991) *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy with/in the Post Modern*, London, Routledge

Lawton, D. (1992) *Education and Politics in the 1990s: conflict or consensus*, London, Falmer

Le Grand, J. and Bartlett, W. (1993) *Quasi Markets and Social Policy*, London, Macmillan

Lee, T. (1990) *Special educational needs and social disadvantage under LMS: present issues and future implications*, London, Advisory Centre for Education

Lee, T. (1992) 'Finding simple answers to complex questions: funding special needs under LMS', in Wallace, G. (ed.) *Local Management of Schools: Research and Experience*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters

Leithwood, K., Chapman, J., Corson, D, Hallinger, P. and Hart, A. (eds.) (1996) *International Handbook of Educational Leadership and Administration*, Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Leonard, P. (1998) 'Gendering Change? Management, Masculinity and the Dynamics of Incorporation', *Gender and Education*, Vol. 10, No.1, pp.71-84

Levacic, R. (1992) 'An analysis of differences between historic and formula school budgets: Evidence from LEA submissions and from detailed study of two LEAs', *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp.75-100

Levacic, R (1993a) 'Local management of schools as an organisational form: theory and application', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp.123-141

Levacic, R (1993b) 'Assessing the impact of formula funding on schools', *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp.435-457

Levacic, R. (1995) *Local Management of Schools: analysis and practice*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Levacic, R. (1998) 'Local Management of Schools in England: Results after six years', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 331-350

Levacic, R and Jesson, D. (1993) 'Patterns of Resource Allocations in Schools: a research basis for developing a funding formula' in Wallace, G. (ed.) *Local Management, Central Control: schools in the market place*, Dorset, Hyde

Levacic, R. and Woods, P. (1994) 'New forms of financial co-operation', in Ranson, S and Tomlinson, J. (eds.), *School Co-operation: new forms of local governance*, Harlow, Longman

Limerick, B. and Lingard, B. (eds.) (1995) *Gender and Changing Education Management*, Rydalmere, NSW, Hodder

Macgregor, S. (1992) 'Poverty, the Poll Tax and Thatcherite Welfare Policy: part II - poverty and insecurity at the end of the 1980s', *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 1, pp. 57-67

Mackinnon, D., Statham, J. with Hales, M. (1996) *Education in the UK: Facts and Figures*, London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Maclure, S. (1990) *A History of Education in London 1870-1990*, London, The Penguin Press

Mallen, D. (1992) 'The ILEA Legacy' in Barber, M. (ed.) *Education in the Capital*, London Cassell

Mason, J. (1996) *Qualitative Researching*, London, Sage

Maychell, K. (1994) *Counting the Cost: the Impact of LMS on Schools' Patterns of Spending*, Slough, National Foundation for Educational Research

Maynard, M. (1994) 'Methods, Practice and Epistemology: The Debate about Feminism and Research' in Maynard, M. and Purvis, J. (eds.) *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective*, London, Taylor and Francis

Maynard, M. and Purvis, J. (eds.)(1994) *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective*, London, Taylor and Francis

McKeown, P. (1991) 'Removing education from local government - lessons from Northern Ireland', *Local Government Studies*, 17(4), pp.51-67

McIntyre, J. (1997) 'Restructuring adult education: research, policy and the state', Paper at 27th Annual SCUTREA Conference

McVicar, M. (1990): 'Education Policy: Education as a Business?' in Savage. S. and Robins, L. (eds.) *Public Policy under Thatcher*, London, Macmillan

Merriam, S (1988) *Case Study Research in Education*, San Francisco, Jossey Bass.

Mickleson, R. A. (1994) 'A feminist approach to researching the powerful in education' in Walford, G. *Researching the Powerful in Education*, London, UCL Press

Miles, S and Middleton, C. (1990) 'Girls Education in the Balance: the ERA and Inequality' in Flude and Hammer, *The Education Reform Act 1988: its origins and implications*, Sussex, Barcombe

Minhas, R. and Weiner, G. (1991) 'Resources and Funding for State Education' in Chitty, C. (ed.) *Changing the Future - redprint for education*, London, Tufnell Press

Mitter, S., Rowbotham, S. (1997) *Women encounter Technology*, London, Routledge

Morris, B. (1993) 'Education Acts: a blunted instrument', *Local Government Policy Making*, Vol. 19, No.5, pp.25-30

Neville, M. (1988) *Promoting Women: Successful Women in Education Management*, Auckland, Longman Paul

Olowe, S. (ed.) (1990) *Against the Tide - Black Experience in the ILEA*, London, ILEA

Ouston, J. (ed.) (1993) *Women in Education Management*, Harlow, Longman

Ozga, J. (ed.) (1993) *Women in Educational Management*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Ozga, J. (1987) 'Studying Educational Policy through the Lives of Policy Makers: an attempt to close the macro-micro gap' in Walker, S. and Barton, L. (eds.) *Changing Policies, Changing Teachers*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Pennell, H., West, A., Nuttall, D. (1992) *After ILEA: education services in inner London*, London School of Economics, Clare Market Paper No. 5

Pole, C. J. and Chawla-Duggan (eds.) (1996) *Reshaping Education in the 1990s: Perspectives on Secondary Schooling*, London, Falmer Press

Power, J. (1992) 'Researching the impact of education policy: difficulties and discontinuities' in *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 7, No.5, pp.493-500

Powney, J. and Watts, M. (1987) *Interviewing in Educational Research*, London, Routledge

Ramazanoglu, C. (1992) 'On Feminist Methodology', *Sociology*, 26 (2), pp.207-212

Ranson, S and Tomlinson, J. (eds.)(1994) *School Co-operation: new forms of local governance*, Harlow, Longman

Reynolds, K. (1991) 'Restructuring the Welfare State - the case of the abolition of the Inner London Education Authority', *Critical Social Policy*, Issue 32, pp.72-81

Reynolds, K. (1992) 'Equal Opportunities and Local Management of Schools - what happens now?' *Gender and Education*, Vol.4, No. 3, pp.289-299

Reynolds, K. (1993a) 'Local Management, 'Equal Opportunities' and inner London - a poisonous brew?' in Wallace, G. (1993)(Ed.) *Decentralised Management in Education*, Sussex, Hyde Publications

Reynolds, K (1993b, unpublished) 'Who Pays the Bills? Gender, 'Race' and Local Management of Schools', *Paper presented at British Educational Research Association Conference, Liverpool*

Reynolds, K (1998 unpublished) 'The future for local education authorities under new Labour' Visiting Lecture, University of Reading

Rheinharz, S. (1983) 'Experiential analysis: a contribution to feminist research' in Bowles, G. and Klein, R. D. (eds.) *Theories of Women's Studies*, London, Routledge

Rheinharz, S. (1992) *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Robinson, V. and Richardson, D. (1997) *Introducing women's studies: feminist theory and practice*, London,

Sammons, P. (1991 unpublished) 'The Impact of LMS and 'Formula Funding' on Resource Allocations to Inner London Schools', *Paper for the British Education Research Association Conference, Nottingham*

Sammons, P. (1992) 'Measuring and Resourcing Educational Needs: Variations in LEAs LMS Policies in Inner London', *Clare Market Papers No 6*, London, Centre for Educational Research

Savage, S. and Robins, L. (eds.)(1990) *Public Policy under Thatcher*, London, Macmillan

Scheurich, J. J. (1997) *Research methods in the Postmodern*, London, Falmer Press

Segal, L. (1987) *Is the Future Female?*, London, Virago

Schacklock, G. and Smyth, J. (eds.)(1998) *Being Reflexive in Critical Educational and Social Research*, London, Falmer Press

Shaw, C. (1994) *Changing Lives*, London, Policy Studies Institute

Silcock, P. (1997) 'The Death of Progressivism; The Impact of the National Curriculum on Primary-School Classroom Ideologies' Paper at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference

Silverman, D. (ed.)(1995) *Qualitative Research: Theory, method and practice*. London, Sage

Silver, H. (1990) *Education, change and the policy process*, Lewes, Falmer

Skeggs, B. (1994) 'The Constraints of Neutrality: the 1988 Education Reform Act and Feminist Research' in Halpin, D. and Troyna, B. (eds.) *Researching Education Policy: ethical and methodological issues*, London, Falmer Press

Smyth, J. (ed.) (1993) *A Socially Critical View of the Self-Managing School*, London, Falmer Press

Stanley, L. (ed.) (1990) *Feminist Praxis: research, theory and epistemology in feminist sociology*, London, Routledge

Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1983) *Breaking out; feminist consciousness and feminist research*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1990) 'Method, methodology and epistemology in feminist research processes' in Stanley, L. (ed.): *Feminist Praxis: research, theory and epistemology in feminist sociology*, London, Routledge

Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1993) *Breaking out again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology*, London, Routledge

Statham, J. and Mackinnon, D. with Cathcart, H. (1989) *The Education Factfile: a handbook of education information in the UK* London, Hodder and Stoughton

Stronach, I. and MacLure, M. (1997) *Educational Undone: The Postmodern Embrace*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Swartz, D. (1997) *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press

Tesch, R. (1990) *Qualitative research: analysis types and software tools*, Hampshire, Falmer Press

Thomas, G. (1990) *Setting up LMS - a study of local authorities' submissions to the Department for Education and Science*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Thomas, G. (1991) *The Framework for LMS: A Study of LEA's Approved Local Management of Schools Schemes*, Milton Keynes, Open University Learning Materials.

Thomas, H. and Bullock, A. (1994) *The Impact of Local Management of Schools*, Staffordshire, Qed

Troyna, B. (1990) 'Reform or deform? The 1988 Education Reform Act and racial equality in Britain', *New Community*, Vol. 16, No. 3 pp. 403-416

Troyna, B. (1992) (unpublished) 'The 'Hub' and the 'Rim': How LMS buckles antiracist education' Paper at 8th ERA Research Network Seminar

Troyna, B. (1994) 'Critical Social Research and Education Policy', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. XXXXII, No.1, pp.70-84

Vincent, C. (1996) *Parents and Teachers: power and participation*, London, Falmer Press

Vincent, C., Evans, J., Lunt, I. and Young, P. (1994) 'The Market Forces? The Effect of Local Management of Schools on Special Educational Needs Provision', *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp.261-277

Vincent, C., Evans, J., Lunt, I. and Young, P. (1995) 'Policy and practice: the changing nature of special educational provision in schools', *British Journal of Special Education*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 4 - 11

Walford, G. (1994) *Researching the Powerful in Education*, London, UCL Press

Walker, S. and Barton, L. (eds.) (1987) *Changing Policies, Changing Teachers*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Wallace, G. (ed.) (1992) *Local Management of Schools: Research and Experience*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters

Wallace, G. (ed.)(1993) *Local Management, Central Control: schools in the market place*, Dorset, Hyde

Wallace, R. (1990) 'The Act and Local Authorities', in Flude, M. and Hammer, M. (eds.) *The Education Reform Act 1988: its origins and implications*, London, Falmer Press.

Walters, J. and Richardson, C. (1997) *Governing Schools through Policy*, London, Lemos and Crane

Walsh, K. (1995) *Public Services and Market Mechanisms: Competition, Contracting and the New Public Management*, Basingstoke, Macmillan

Weber, R. (1990) *Basic Content Analysis*, London, Sage

Weiner, G. (1994) *Feminisms in Education: an introduction*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Weiner, G. (1997) 'New Era or Old Times: class, gender and education' Paper at British Educational Research Association Conference

Weiner, G. and Arnot, M. (1987) 'Teachers and gender politics', in Arnot, M. and Weiner, G. (eds.) *Gender and the Politics of Schooling*, London, Hutchinson.

Whitty, G. (1997) 'Creating quasi-markets in education: a review of recent research on parental choice and school autonomy in three countries', *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 22, pp. 3-47

Whitty, G., Edwards, T. and Gewirtz, S. (1993) *Specialisation and Choice in Urban Education*, London, Routledge

Whitty, G., Power, S. and Halpin, D. (1998) *Devolution and Choice in Education: the school, the state and the market*, Buckingham, Open University Press.

Williams, F. (1989) *Social Policy: a critical introduction*, London, Polity Press.

Willis, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour: how working class kids get working class jobs*, Hants, Saxon House

Woodard, A. (1996) *The Governing Body: Constituent Parts, Roles and Responsibilities*, Surrey, Croner

Yeatman, A. (1993) 'Corporate managerialism and the shift from the welfare to the competition state', *Discourse*, Vol. 13, No. 9, pp.3-9

Yin, R. K. (1989) *Case Study Research: design and method*, London, Sage

8.2. Legislation, Circulars and other central Government documents

Department for Education (1992) *Choice and Diversity: White Paper*, London, HMSO

Department for Education (1993) *Effective Management in Schools: a report for the Department for Education via the School Management Task Force Professional Working Party*, London, HMSO

Department for Education (1994) *Circular 7/94 – local management of schools*, London, HMSO

Department for Education (1994) *Education Act*, London, HMSO

Department for Education and Employment (1996) *Education Act*, London HMSO

Department for Education and Employment (1997) *Excellence in Schools*, London, HMSO

Department for Education and Employment (1998a) *Schools Standards and Framework Act*, London, HMSO

Department for Education and Employment (1998b) *Fair Funding: improving delegation to schools – consultation document*, London, DfEE

Department of Education and Science (1944) *Education Act*, London, HMSO

Department for Education and Science (1986), *Education (No. 2) Act*, London, HMSO

Department of Education and Science (1988a) *Education Reform Act*, London, HMSO

Department of Education and Science (1988b) *Circular 7/88 – Local Management of Schools*, London, HMSO

Department of Education and Science (1991) *Circular 7/91*, London, HMSO)

Department of the Environment (1986) *Local Government Act*, London, HMSO

Department of the Environment (1988) *Local Government Act*, London, HMSO

House of Commons, Education Committee (1994) *The Disparity in Funding between Primary and Secondary Schools: Volume 1*, London, HMSO

8.3. Other Documents

Audit Commission (1989): *Losing an Empire, Finding a Role: the LEA of the future Occasional Papers*, No. 10

Audit Commission (1998a) *Local Authority Performance Indicators: 1996/97: Education Services*, London, Audit Commission

Audit Commission (1998b) *Changing Partners: a discussion paper on the role of the local education authority*, London, Audit Commission

Coopers, Lybrand and Deloitte and The National Foundation for Educational Research (1991): *Local Management in Schools: A Study into Formula Funding and Management Issues - Draft Report*, London, The LMS Initiative

Greater London Action for Race Equality (1988) *The Abolition of the ILEA and its affect on non-statutory educational provision for London's Black and ethnic minority communities: a briefing paper*, London, GLARE

Local Government Training Board (1991) *Education Managers: a profile*, Luton, LGTB

London Boroughs Association (1991) *The Financial Consequences of the Abolition of the GLC*, London, L.B.A.

London Research Centre (1996) *The Capital Divided: Mapping Poverty and Social Exclusion in London*, London, LRC.

London 2000 (1990) *After ILEA: Education Strategies for the Whole Community*, London, London 2000

National Association Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT)(1998) *Fair Funding: improving delegation to schools - response of the NASUWT*, London, NASUWT

National Consumer Council and Community Development Foundation (NCC) (1990) *Minority Ethnic Communities and School Governing Bodies*, London, NCC

National Foundation for Educational Research (1990) *Survey of School Governing Bodies*, Luton, NFER

Secondary Heads Association(1992) *If it moves again - a further study of the role of the deputy head*, Leicester, SHA

8.4. Inner London Education Authority and London Boroughs Documents

Camden Council (1989) *Learning Together: Education Development Plan*, London, London Borough of Camden

Camden Council (1992) *Scheme for Local Management of Schools*, London, London Borough of Camden

Camden Council (1995) *Section 42 Budget Statement*, London, London Borough of Camden

City of London (1989) *Education in the City of London: Education Development Plan*, London, City of London

City of London (1992) *Scheme for Local Management of Schools*, London, City of London

City of Westminster (1989) *Working Together for Excellence: Educational Development Plan*, London, City of Westminster

City of Westminster (1990) *Westminster's Scheme for Local Management of Schools*, London, City of Westminster

City of Westminster (1995) *Section 42 Budget Statement*, London, City of Westminster

City of Westminster (1998) *Section 122 Budget Statement*, London, City of Westminster

Greenwich Council (1991) *Consultation Document on Local Management of Schools*, London, London Borough of Greenwich

Greenwich Council (1998) *Section 122 Budget Statement*, London, London Borough of Greenwich

Hackney Council (1989) *Hackney's Education Development Plan*, London, London Borough of Hackney.

Hackney Council (1991) *LMS Scheme for Submission to the Secretary of State for Education*, London, London Borough of Hackney

Hammersmith and Fulham (1989) *Education in 1990; Getting it Right*, London, London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham

Hammersmith and Fulham (1992) *Scheme for Local Management of Schools Scheme*, London, London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham.

Hammersmith and Fulham (1995) *Section 42 Budget Statement*, London, London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham.

Hammersmith and Fulham (1998) *Section 122 Budget Statement*, London, London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham.

Inner London Education Authority (1983a) *Race, Sex and Class.3. A Policy for Equality: Race*, London, ILEA

Inner London Education Authority (1983b) *Race, Sex and Class.4. Anti-Racist Statement and Guidelines*, London, ILEA.

Inner London Education Authority (1984) *Anti-sexist statement*, London, ILEA

Inner London Education Authority (1985) *Race, Sex and Class.6 A Policy for Equality: Sex*, London, ILEA

Inner London Education Authority (1989) *Education Statistics*, London, ILEA

Inner London Education Authority (1990a) *Local Management of Schools: project report*, London, ILEA

Inner London Education Authority (1990b) *Survey of Governing Bodies*, (RS 1266/90), London, ILEA

Islington Council (1989) *In a Class of its Own: Islington's Plan for Education in the 1990s*, London, London Borough of Islington

Islington Council (1992) *Scheme for Local Management of Schools – primary and secondary schools*, London, London Borough of Islington.

Islington Council (1995) *Section 42 Budget Statement*, London, London Borough of Islington

Islington Council (1998) *Section 122 Budget Statement*, London, London Borough of Islington

Lambeth Council (1991) *Local Management of Schools Scheme: report to Education Committee*, London, London Borough of Lambeth

Lambeth Council (1995) *Section 42 Budget Statement*, London, London Borough of Lambeth.

Lewisham Council (1995) *Section 42 Budget Statement*, London, London Borough of Lewisham

Lewisham Council (1989) *Lewisham's Education Development Plan*, London, London Borough of Lewisham

Lewisham Council (1992) *Local Management of Schools Scheme*, London, London Borough of Lewisham.

Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (1992) *Local Management of Schools Scheme*, London, Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea.

Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (1995) *Section 42 Budget Statement*, London, Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea

Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (1998) *Section 122 Statement*, London, Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea.

Southwark Council (1992) *Local Management of Schools Approved Scheme*, London, London Borough of Southwark.

Southwark Council (1989) *Education for All: Education Development Plan: Summary*, London, London Borough of Southwark.

Southwark Council (1998) *Section 122 Statement*, London, London Borough of Southwark.

Tower Hamlets Council (1989) *Getting it Right: Education Development Plan*, London, London Borough of Tower Hamlets

Tower Hamlets Council (1992) *Local Management of Schools Scheme*, London, London Borough of Tower Hamlets.

Tower Hamlets Council (1995) *Section 42 Budget Statement*, London, London Borough of Tower Hamlets.

Wandsworth Borough Council (1989) *Education Development Plan*, London, Wandsworth Borough Council

Wandsworth Borough Council (1991) *Local Management of Schools Scheme – draft proposals*, London, London Borough of Wandsworth.

Wandsworth Borough Council (1995) *Section 122 Budget Statement*, London, Wandsworth Borough Council

8.5. Newspapers/Magazines

Cooke, G. (1990) 'Fighting for priority?', *Education*, 28 September 1990, p.267.

Daily Express, 29th July 1992, editorial

Fisher, J. (1988) 'London's Education - Where Now?', *National Union of Teachers, Education Review*, Vol.2, No. 2, pp.58-62

Fullick, L. (1991a) 'London's new LEAs are saving £100m a year. But the capital's education culture is all but bankrupt', *Education*, 21 November 1991, p.423

Fullick, L. (1991b) 'A strong LEA is essential if special needs provision is to offset growing disadvantage', *Education*, 8 November 1991, pp.363-364.

Mullen, J. (1998): 'Fair Funding', *Governors' Agenda*, August 1998

Pyrke, N. (1990) 'Kept in the dark by baby beacon', *Times Educational Supplement*, 9 November, p.6

Saunders, C. (1990) 'Angry Crew in a Tory flagship', *Times Educational Supplement*, 9 November, p.6

The Times Educational Supplement 7 August 1998 (p.1) Wales goes its own way

Appendix 1

8.6. **Summary Analysis of LMS in inner London boroughs – financial year 1994/95 –
sample of boroughs supplying information**

Table 5 - London Borough of Camden

CAMDEN	Primary	Secondary	Special	Total	% PSB
	£000s	£000s	£000s	£000s	
ASB	19,961	20,898	4,771	45,630	83.03
PSB per pupil				£2,814.17	
ASB per pupil				£2,336.53	
GSB per pupil				£3,340.57	
Primary ASB per pupil				£1,853.82	
Secondary ASB per pupil				£2,513.89	
Primary PSB per pupil				£2,247.23	
Secondary PSB per pupil				£2,985.32	
Age Weighted Pupil Unit	Value				
Nursery	£1,638.00				
Reception	£1,638.00				
Primary	£1,339.63				
Secondary	£1,920.46				
Post 16	£2,691.00				

Table 6 - London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham

HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	Primary	Secondary	Special	Total	% PSB
	£000s	£000s	£000s	£000s	
ASB	17,795	12,516	3,714	34,025	87.00
PSB per pupil				£2,804.97	
ASB per pupil				£2,427.75	
GSB per pupil				£3,358.97	
Primary ASB per pupil				£2,010.93	
Secondary ASB per pupil				£2,618.98	
Primary PSB per pupil				£2,353.59	
Secondary PSB per pupil				£2,960.64	
Age Weighted Pupil Unit	Value				
Nursery		£2,018.00			
Reception		£1,395.00			
Primary		£1,411.00			
Secondary		£2,054.72			
Post 16		£2,736.00			

Table 7 - London Borough of Islington

ISLINGTON	Primary	Secondary	Special	Total	% PSB
	ry				
	£000s	£000s	£000s	£000s	
ASB	32,737	19,424	3,349	55,511	92.5
PSB per pupil				£2,563.89	
ASB per pupil				£2,371.66	
GSB per pupil				£2,950.56	
Primary ASB per pupil				£2,087.20	
Secondary ASB per pupil				£2,623.92	
Primary PSB per pupil				£2,229.95	
Secondary PSB per pupil				£2,880.98	
Age Weighted Pupil Unit		Value			
Nursery		£2,229.29			
Reception (4-7years)		£1,590.55			
Primary (7-10 years)		£1,577.73			
Secondary (11-14 years)		£2,244.70			
Secondary (15)		£2,351.26			
Post 16		£3,134.50			

Table 8 - Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea

KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA		Primary	Secondary	Special	Total	% PSB
	£000s	£000s	£000s	£000s	£000s	
ASB	13,688	7,880	1,484	23,052	85.83	
PSB per pupil				£3,102.75		
ASB per pupil				£2,682.34		
GSB per pupil				£3,897.25		
Primary ASB per pupil				£2,308.26		
Secondary ASB per pupil				£3,103.58		
Primary PSB per pupil				£2,656.32		
Secondary PSB per pupil				£3,606.54		
Age Weighted Pupil Unit		Value				
Nursery		£2,589.12				
Reception		£2,009.00				
Primary		£1,674.99				
Secondary		£2,583.50				
Post 16		£2,897.92				

Table 9 - London Borough of Lambeth

LAMBETH	Primary	Secondary	Special	Total	% PSB
	£000s	£000s	£000s	£000s	
ASB	37,715	9,177	9,000	55,892	84.22
PSB per pupil				£3,073.56	
ASB per pupil				£2,588.41	
GSB per pupil				£3,807.53	
Primary ASB per pupil				£2,115.36	
Secondary ASB per pupil				£3,061.01	
Primary PSB per pupil				£2,520.55	
Secondary PSB per pupil				£3,739.26	
Age Weighted Pupil Unit	Value				
Nursery	£2,104.96				
Reception	£1,683.97				
Primary	£1,543.64				
Secondary	£2,148.86				
Post 16	£2,666.28				

Table 10 - London Borough of Lewisham

LEWISHAM	Primary	Secondary	Special	Total	% PSB
	£000s	£000s	£000s	£000s	
ASB	35,049	26,474	4,112	65,634	84.58
PSB per pupil				£2,425.34	
ASB per pupil				£2,051.47	
GSB per pupil				£2,945.1	
Primary ASB per pupil				£1,730.37	
Secondary ASB per pupil				£2,350.69	
Primary PSB per pupil				£2,059.15	
Secondary PSB per pupil				£2,784.96	
Age Weighted Pupil Unit	Value				
Nursery	£1,794.00				
Reception	£1,794.00				
Primary	£1,316.00				
Secondary (Ages 10-13)	£1,818.00				
Secondary (14 & 15)	£1,890.00				
Post 16	£2,716.00				

Table 11- London Borough of Tower Hamlets

TOWER HAMLETS	Primary	Secondary	Special	Total	% PSB
	£000s	£000s	£000s	£000s	
ASB	40,834	28,885	4,732	74,261	86.17
PSB per pupil				£2,557.30	
ASB per pupil				£2,203.58	
GSB per pupil				£3,844.76	
Primary ASB per pupil				£1,883.32	
Secondary ASB per pupil				£2,510.61	
Primary PSB per pupil				£2,166.69	
Secondary PSB per pupil				£2,933.81	
Age Weighted Pupil Units		Value			
Nursery		£2,073.00			
Reception		£1,743.20			
Primary		£1,382.00			
Secondary		£1,920.00			
Post 16		£2,349.00			

Table 12 - City of Westminster

WESTMINSTER	Primary	Secondary	Special	Total	% PSB
	£000s	£000s	£000s	£000s	
ASB	18,568	18,880	1,643	39,091	88.48
PSB per pupil				£2,575.45	
ASB per pupil				£2,278.00	
GSB per pupil				£3,018.48	
Primary ASB per pupil				£1,947.05	
Secondary ASB per pupil				£2,529.47	
Primary PSB per pupil				£2,227.55	
Secondary PSB per pupil				£2,818.33	
Age Weighted Pupil Units	Weighting	Value			
Nursery		£1,605.00			
Reception		£1,605.00			
Primary		£1,459.00			
Secondary		£2,006.47			
Post 16		£2,480.00			

Appendix 2

8.7. LMS Interviews – prompt sheet local government officers

The interview will start by assuring the interviewees of the confidential nature of the interview.

Interviews will be transcribed as soon as possible after the interview. Interviews will not normally last more than one hour.

Questions/prompts

1. Can you tell me a little about your career background, how you came to be responsible for local management of schools and whether you have a background working for the Inner London Education Authority?
2. Why do you think the ILEA was abolished? (prompts – value for money, inefficiency)
3. What sort of effect do you think the abolition of ILEA has had on education in inner London?
And for your borough?
4. What do you think will be the long-term effects of the abolition of ILEA?
5. Why was local management of schools introduced? What do you see as the main purpose behind LMS?
6. What advantages are there in LMS? (prompt, for schools, for governing bodies, for headteachers, for the LEA etc.)

7. What are the disadvantages? (prompt, for schools, for governing bodies, for headteachers, for the LEA etc.)
8. *Should more resources be delegated to schools? Why?*
9. How do you think the role of the local education authority will be changed by the introduction of local management of schools?
10. What do you think the long-term role of the local education authority will be?
11. How was the consultation on your draft LMS scheme organised? Who was consulted? Why?
12. What were the main issues raised by consultation?
13. What were the feelings of headteachers and governors towards their new roles?
14. *How is the local education authority preparing for its future role?*
15. Any other points/comments

Thank you for your time and help.

8.8. LMS Interviews – prompt sheet Headteachers, School Administrative Staff and Governors

Type of School:

The interviews will start by assuring the interviewee of the confidentiality of the material collected (unless happy to do otherwise). Interviews will be transcribed as soon as possible after the interview. No other notes will be taken. Interviews will not normally last more than one hour.

Questions

1. How long have you been headteacher/school administrative officer/governor at this school?
Where did you work before you were appointed?
2. *(If appointed before abolition of ILEA)* What changes to have you noticed since the Local Education Authority took over running education? (in the school, in your job)
3. Why do you think ILEA was abolished?
4. What do you think LMS is all about? What advantages do you see in LMS? What disadvantages?
5. Has Local Management changed the school? How? Advantages, disadvantages? (prompt - specific effects - on children, on teachers etc.)
6. Has Local Management changed your job as a headteacher/school administrative officer/governor? How? (prompt relationship with governors, staff, teachers, unions, secretary)
7. How have you coped with managing the budget?
8. How have you coped with personnel responsibilities?

9. How do you think the role of the LEA will be changed as a result of LMS? (prompt any examples)
10. What do you think is the long-term future for LEAs? What will be advantages?
Disadvantages?
11. Has training been provided for staff to cope with changes? Have they attend training - have you attend
12. How has LMS changed the relationship between your school and other schools? Advantages?
Disadvantages?

Any other points/comments you'd like to make?

Thank you for your time and help

Appendix 3

8.9. List of interviewees

Headteachers:

Table 13

Interviewee	Gender and race (self-definition)	Local Education Authority	Type of School	Date of Interview
Headteacher 1	White man	Labour controlled	Voluntary aided primary school	October 1993
Headteacher 2	White woman	Labour controlled	Voluntary aided primary school	January 1994
Headteacher 3	White women	Labour controlled	County Junior School	January 1994
Headteacher 4	White woman	Labour controlled	County Secondary School	July 1994

School Administrative Officers

Table 14

Interviewee	Gender and race (self-definition)	Local Education Authority	Type of School	Date of Interview
School Administrative Officer 1	White woman	Labour controlled	Voluntary aided primary school	January 1994
School Administrative Officer 2	White woman	Labour controlled	Voluntary aided primary school	February 1994

Governors

Table 15

Interviewee	Gender and race (self-definition)	Local Education Authority	Type of School	Date of Interview
Governor 1 – Teacher Governor	White woman	Labour controlled	County secondary school	August 1993
Governor 2 – LEA appointed Governor	Black man	Labour controlled	County secondary school and county primary school	August 1993
Governor 3 – Parent Governor	White woman	Labour controlled	County primary school	September 1994

Local government officers

Table 16

Interviewee	Gender and race (self-definition)	Local Education Authority	Date of Interview
Officer 1	White woman	Labour controlled	October 1991
Officer 2	White woman	Labour controlled	January 1992
Officer 3	White woman	Labour controlled	May 1991
Officer 4	White man	Labour controlled	February 1992
Officer 5	White man	Liberal-Democrat controlled	May 1992

Appendix 4

8.10. Categories for initial analysis

- ◆ Equal Opportunities (search terms, equal opportunities, gender, sex, women, men, ethnicity, race, ethnic minorities, black, class, special needs, special educational needs, equality, equal, disabilities, learning needs)
- ◆ ILEA (Search terms, inner London, ILEA, Inner London Education Authority)
- ◆ Relationships with LEA (search terms: local education authority, LEA, authority/authorities)
- ◆ Local Government (Search Terms: local government, council, 'name of council', members)
- ◆ National Government (Search terms: government, central government, DfE, DES, Department for Education, Department of Education and Science, Conservative/s, Tories)
- ◆ Political Parties (Search terms: conservatives, Tories, Labour Party, Labour, politics, party)
- ◆ Governing Bodies (Search terms: governing bodies, governor/s)
- ◆ LMS (Search terms: lms, local management of schools, local management, local financial management, lfm)
- ◆ Finances/Budgeting (Search terms: finance, budget/s(ing), resources, money, cuts, salaries, funding)
- ◆ Staff (Search terms: staff(ing), personnel)
- ◆ Other (specific to the interview)

Appendix 5

8.11. Analysis sheets for LMS Schemes

Name of Borough:

Type of Scheme (final, draft etc.):

Date:

Rationale for LMS:

Treatment and Rationale for Discretionary Exceptions:

Consultation Mechanism:

Rationale for Formula Funding:

Role of Governors:

Role of Schools/Headteachers:

Role of LEA:

Rationale for Non-AWPU elements (particularly special needs etc.):

Equal Opportunities Issues:

Curriculum Issues:

Appendix 6

8.12. Analysis Sheet for Education Development Plans

Name of Borough: Type of Plan (consultation, approved):

Date:

Approach to establishing local education authority

Links and reference to ILEA

Approaches to equal opportunities (structure, philosophy, support for schools)